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DEPUTY KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM

AND

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CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	PAGE
MATTINGLY, HAROLD.—A Mithraic Tessera from Verulam	54
——— Coins from a Site-Find in British East Africa .	175
——— The Coinage of Septimius Severus and his Times. Mints and Chronology	177
——— A Hoard of Imperial Didrachms and Drachms from Caesarea in Cappadocia	238
——— St. Albans Site-Finds.	239
——— AND ROBINSON, E. S. G.—“Romano-Camp- nian” Coinage	236
OMAN, SIR CHARLES.—Valerian’s “Consecratio” . . .	58
PEARCE, J. W. E.—Issues of the <i>Urbs Roma</i> Siliqua at Treveri and the <i>Vota</i> Siliquae of Gratian struck at Treveri	245
ROBINSON, E. S. G.—Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1930-31	199
SYDENHAM, REV. E. A.—The Victoriatae.	73

ENGLISH NUMISMATICS

	PAGE
BROOKE, GEORGE C.—Finds of English Coins . . .	69
FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN—Thomas Simon, "One of our Chief Gravers"	274
LAWRENCE, L. A.—The Coinage of Edward III from 1351: Part III	96
OMAN, SIR CHARLES.—An alleged Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, dated March 4, 1562, regarding the Coinage	1
WEBB, PERCY H.—John Lee, LL.D., Q.C. First President of the Numismatic Society	63
WELLS, W. C.—The Shrewsbury Mint in the reign of Richard I and the Silver Mine at Carreghova . . .	215

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

WRIGHT, H. NELSON.—The Coinage of the Sultāns of Mālwa: Part II	13
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REVIEWS.

BROOKE, G. C.—English Coins	176
KUBITSCHKE, W.—Zur Abfolge der Prägungen der Kaiser Marcus und Verus	311
LEDERER, PHILIP.—Die Staterprägung der Stadt Nagidos	243
STEFAN, FRIEDRICH.—Münzkunde des Altertums . . .	72

PLATES.

- I-IV. Coins of Mālwā.
V-VI. The Roman Victoriatae.
VII-XII. The Coinage of Edward III (XI-XVI).
XIII-XV. Coinage of Septimius Severus.
XVI. British Museum Greek Acquisitions.
XVII. Short-Cross Pennies of Shrewsbury and Durham.
XVIII-XX. *Urbs Roma* Siliquae of Treveri.
-

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

LIST OF FELLOWS.



I.

ON AN ALLEGED PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, DATED MARCH 4, 1562, RE- GARDING THE COINAGE.

THE modest object of this paper is to remove from the history of the English coinage a statement which has been running uncontradicted from the days of Ruding—accepted by Kenyon, and repeated quite recently by our esteemed Fellow Mr. Symonds in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1916. It is to the effect that Elizabeth, after her first well-known “calling down” of the old base testoons and other smaller pieces of her father and brother in 1560, proceeded in March 1562 to “call down” the nominal value of all the good and fine silver also, including the £30,000 of standard coin which she had issued herself in 1559–60, and the much greater amount of the fine silver of the “great recoinage” which had been already struck between Michaelmas 1560 and March 1562. The acceptance of this story, resting on what I consider an unofficial document, leads to the astounding view that what we are accustomed to call shillings, groats, and half-groats struck in 1559–62, in pure metal, were circulating for many years as eightpenny, $2\frac{2}{3}$ penny, and $1\frac{1}{3}$ penny pieces. This on the face of it looked so strange, that I was constrained to search into the sources from which this extraordinary story has its origin.

The base for the statement that there was in March 1562 an official “calling down” of all the good and

new coin of the realm rests on a couple of manuscripts, purporting to be royal proclamations, of which one is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries and the other in the Bodleian at Oxford. There are later copies in existence, but these, of course, have no intrinsic authority. I have looked at both copies: they appear to be written in two quite different hands, but both clearly Elizabethan. The Bodleian copy has a blank where the date ought to appear, and the tables at the end differ from those in the Antiquaries' MS. I fail to recognize either of them as official and genuine proclamations. No printed copy is forthcoming: but this would not necessarily be a proof of forgery, as there are cases known where there is no discoverable printed example of what seem to be genuine proclamations. But internal evidence seems to me fatal to the claims of this document.

The astounding fact about this particular alleged proclamation is that it occurs on a date between two genuine and indubitable royal proclamations contradicting the statement that there is going to be any further reduction in the nominal value of the individual coins of the realm. One is dated January 30, 1562, and states that a vain and untrue rumour is abroad, that the Queen is about to "cry down" all current money, which is being put about by covetous and criminal persons, who desire to find an excuse for raising the price of their wares. Thirty-two days later we find the alleged proclamation of March 4, 1562, which (as we shall see presently) provides precisely what Her Majesty had disclaimed as her intention on January 30, viz. that all money of every sort should have its face value diminished. And then, only nine days

later than the alleged proclamation, we get another, dated March 13, declaring that all rumours of a projected "calling down" of the currency are absolutely untrue, and that all persons circulating them are to stand in the pillory, as spreaders of sedition, and that any one who does not at once inform the nearest Justice of the Peace of the activities of such a spreader of sedition should be sent to prison for a month, as "a maintainer of seditious persons". This and the proclamation of January 30 must of course be read together.

How any one can take seriously the document of March 4, when it lies between two such angry ebullitions of the Queen's wrath, I am at a loss to conceive. But historians have gone on repeating the statement that there *was* a "crying down" in March 1562—though they have never been able to make out what came of it, or how the old standard was ever recalled. Kenyon in his *Gold Coins of England* accepts it without a sentence of doubt, and I cannot accept Mr. Symonds's explanation that "the proclamation, I believe, was not explicitly revoked or amended, but the previous rating seems to have been indirectly restored by the coinage indenture of 1572, which assigned to each coin the higher value current before the proclamation of March 1561-2". For ten years, according to this explanation, from 1562 to 1572, the shilling was circulating as eightpence, the sixpence as a groat, the groat as $2\frac{2}{3}$ pence, without any chronicler or correspondent in the State Papers mentioning it. And then the old values were restored, equally without any written trace of satisfaction or dissatisfaction on the part of the public! This I hold to be impossible,

and must explain the situation according to my own ideas.

Every one knows of the great recoinage of 1561, when Elizabeth called in all the surviving base money of her father and brother, and gave only $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ for the better sort of alloyed testoons, and $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ for the worse, "calling them down" as the phrase was, and compelling the public to bring them in to the mint, by prohibiting under the strongest penalties both melting and export of the base money. The price that she gave for the sad stuff which Henry and Edward had put out was nicely calculated to be just below its real melting value, which was nearer $5d.$ than $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ for the better, and to $2\frac{3}{4}d.$ rather than $2\frac{1}{4}$ for the worse testoons. Hence, even after allowing for all the costs of recoinage, she made in the end some £14,000 of profit out of the transaction. The Proclamation of the new coinage had been issued on October 9, 1560, the Indenture for it signed on October 8, with a warning that the old base money would only be received at the rates which the Queen proffered up to April 9, 1561—a date afterwards prolonged to May. Meanwhile, till the new pure silver of the restored standard should get about, the old testoons were to be stamped with a portcullis for the better and a greyhound for the worse sort, without which they would not be allowed to circulate. Practically the whole of the old issues had been got in and recoined by Midsummer 1562, when we find that certain supplementary minting-rooms at the Tower, which had been built to help in the main rush of the coining, were apparently closed. From Michaelmas 1560 to Midsummer 1562 there had been coined £364,857 of the new silver money, as

opposed to the £31,000 which had been issued in the Queen's first two years between January 1559 and Michaelmas 1560. Apparently a very few of the countermarked testoons, despite their theoretical demonetization as from May 1561, continued to circulate in remote parts. For as late as the reign of Charles I we find a sheriff of Monmouthshire complaining that people brought him what he called "ragged pieces", old groats, "harpers", i.e. Irish money with the harp reverse, and "fourpence halfpennies" which can only mean countermarked testoons of Edward VI, since no other English money ever went for the odd sum of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$

In the mid-winter of 1561-2, when the great recoinage was well in progress, the genuine proclamation of January 30, 1562, tells us that rumours of a further "calling down" were current. No doubt the decrease in the accepted value of the Edwardian testoon when it was called down to $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ had hit the pockets of the people—especially of the poorer people—and, grumbling at the loss, many were prepared to believe that the Government was capable of decreeing that the good money, the last pure issue of Edward VI, all the silver of Mary, and the Elizabethan issues of the last four years, should also lose some of their face value.

The origin of this idea was probably the result of the getting abroad of the strange document of which I am writing. It was, I fancy, one of the many financial schemes laid before the Council, and "turned down" by them for good reasons. How this unauthorized draft got into circulation we cannot say, but evidently it did. Its wording requires notice.

It takes the usual proclamation-form of a general preface setting forth the purpose of a change, followed

by a very detailed schedule of what the change was to be. The prices of wares, it says, are greatly enhanced, and prices ought to be brought down to the level which Her Majesty intended. By the present high prices, not only the meaner sort of people, such as labourers, are greatly oppressed, but also every one who lives by wages or fixed pensions, such as soldiers, serving-men, and officials of all sorts. Wherefore Her Majesty, willing to make a final end of high prices, has resolved to refix the value of all coins current in the realm, by proclamation, to commence from this day, March 4. The value of all money, both of gold and silver, was to be restored to what it had been from the sixth year of Edward IV (the date of his great recoinage) down to the sixteenth year of Henry VIII—i.e. 1525, before the cutting down of the penny from 12 to $10\frac{2}{3}$ grs., and of the "calling up" of the gold sovereign from 20s. to 22s.—the beginnings of that tampering with the currency which Henry was destined to carry out later in such an abominable and shameless style.

The "slogan" of the proclamation then is "back to 1525", with the idea that the very moderate prices of that day could be restored by royal edict—a sad delusion. The method adopted was to be the fixing of the weights of all coins, both gold and silver, to the standard of "16 Henry VIII". Accordingly there must be a sovereign of 240 grs. of gold, as the fixed unit, with the corresponding shilling of 144 grs. of silver, and penny of 12 grs. But the existing and current sovereign of fine gold, as struck by Edward VI, Mary, and in the Queen's own earliest years, is of the old weight indeed, but passes for 30s. It must be "cried

down" to 20s. to fall in with the valuation of 1525. And so with its half, the ryal, now current for 15s., which must be reduced to 10s.: and the angel, now passing for 10s., must go down to 6s. 8d., its ancient value. Of the other quality of less pure standard, called "Crown Gold", the sovereign of 174 grs., current now for 20s., shall in future pass for 13s. 4d. only, and so in proportion with its fractions, the half-sovereign, crown, and half-crown, which shall in future count for 6s. 8d., 3s. 4d., and 1s. 8d. only.

But the crying down of silver, which must also take place, in consonance with the crying down of gold, presented more difficulties. Nothing is said, oddly enough, about the silver crown and half-crown as struck by Edward VI in 1551-3, but there is elaborate provision for all the minor silver pieces.

The 96-gr. shilling, as struck from 1551 to 1561 by Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, shall in future only pass for 8d.: its half, the sixpence of good metal of Edward VI and Philip and Mary, will be a groat for the future, and the quarter-shilling or threepenny piece of Edward VI will be a twopenny piece. But difficulty arises with the existing groat and its fractions. "Groats, half-groats, and pennies cannot be reduced one by one, wherefore three groats shall be current for eightpence, and three half-groats for fourpence, and so with pennies and the other small coins." A groat, in short, will be worth the odd and impracticable sum of two-thirds of fourpence, i.e. $2\frac{2}{3}$ pence, and a half-groat, $1\frac{1}{3}$ penny. "And because the quantity of these pieces is not very great, and yet cumbersome to the people to pay one by one, Her Majesty will be pleased between the end of the next

month [April] and the November following to deliver at her Mint, for every of the said three pieces, as much fine money as the same was valued at by proclamation."

I must ask you to ponder for a moment on the futility and absurdity of this alleged proclamation. It deals only with names of coins, not with the purchasing value of them. No doubt if the serving-man or soldier mentioned in the preface has a contract to be hired for, let us say, five pounds a year, he will receive not five times a crown-gold pound of 174 grs., i.e. 870 grs. of gold, but 1,305 grs. if the old pound of crown gold has been cried down to 13s. 4d. This will no doubt be to his immense profit—his salary has been raised by a third. But what of the State which hires the soldier, or the squire who hires the serving-man? The State or the squire will have in future to provide one-third more gold, to make up the nominal sum of five pounds. How can this tend to economy, or the lowering of prices in general? Or if a farmer has land on lease at £5 a year, and has for the future to pay his landlord not coins weighing 870 grs. of gold, but coins weighing 1,305 grs., where is the alleviation to the unfortunate agriculturist? Moreover, all debtors, the Crown included, would have to settle old debts for one-third more in metal, which is ruinous.

No wonder that the original proof of the proclamation disclaiming all intention of the crying down of money—the genuine one of March 13, 1561/2,—has written on its margin in Lord Burleigh's own hand "this to the printer, with all haste", for it was necessary to contradict at once the absurd document dated March 4, before it could do any harm, and to

order that all persons bruited about the supposed intention of the Government should be placed in the pillory.

But the odd thing is that the historians of the English coinage have not seen that the document of March 4 cannot be genuine, and must be the precise thing at which the Queen and Council launched in wrath the disavowal dated March 13.

If the alleged proclamation had been genuine, all English money must in 1562 have been deflated in nominal value by one-third. No trace of this astounding phenomenon appears in chronicles or documents. Yet we are asked to believe that from March 4, 1562, all shillings became eightpenny pieces, and all crown-gold sovereigns 13s. 4d. pieces, and that groats could only be passed in threes, because no one could pay them one by one! Yet groats were in great circulation, not only at this time, but long after—all Queen Mary's profuse coinage of them was about, and three years' output of Elizabeth's own early time.

The most conclusive evidence that the calling down of all the fine-metal silver never took place in 1562 seems to me to be the fact that in November 1561, only four months before the supposed proclamation of March 1562, the council ordered that "since it seemed that more small silver was needed, and less large, no more shillings should be struck for the present, but only sixpences and smaller money". Now we have a complete sequence of sixpences, both hammered and milled, from 1561 onward to the end of the Queen's reign, all identical in type and weight, and all differentiated from groats by having a large Tudor rose behind the Queen's head. But if the alleged proclamation of

March 4, 1562, had been effective, the sixpences struck from that date onward would have been current for 4*d.* only, i.e. would have been groats! But people generally, and official documents in particular, call them sixpences, and never anything else all through the period.

Another proof may be brought forward. According to the alleged proclamation, the angel was suddenly to descend from the value of 10*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.*—its old rate under Henry VII. But we find in June 1565 a proclamation warning the public to beware of certain Low Country gold coins "with the picture of an angel thereon", very like an English piece. They were being largely circulated as worth 10*s.*, whereas their alloy was so base that they were really only worth a little over 7*s.* Now obviously, if the English angel had been really "cried down" to 6*s.* 8*d.* by the alleged edict of March 4, 1562, no sane person three years later could possibly have been taking a foreign copy of it for 10*s.* It is absolutely certain that the real angel must have been circulating for 10*s.* when this warning to merchants was issued, and not at any lower valuation. The same proclamation incidentally warns the public against another and a less base foreign angel, which is only worth 9*s.* 3*d.*

The historians of the coinage have passed over this difficulty in the easiest fashion, without any suspicion of the genuineness of the manuscript proclamation of March 4, 1562. Ruding, after citing it and the real proclamation of March 13 in immediate sequence, merely remarks that probably the harsh measures prescribed against grumblers and malcontents in the latter put an end to seditious rumours, as nothing

more appears on record concerning them after 1562. Dr. Kenyon apparently swallows the whole "proclamation" of March 4 with little comment. On that date, he says, the nominal value of all the current coin both of gold and of silver was reduced, the fine-gold sovereign was to be current for 20*s.* only, the ryal for 10*s.*, the crown-gold sovereign for 13*s.* 4*d.*, and all the others in proportion. However, by an indenture of April 10, 1572, only three gold coins were to be made, the angel and its fractions, of the same weight as before, but now to be current at their old rate of 10*s.*, 5*s.*, 2*s.* 6*d.* [instead of at 6*s.* 8*d.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 1*s.* 8*d.*]. It does not seem to have struck him as peculiar that a large proportion of the English gold circulating medium should have been "cried down" by one-third of its value in 1562 and "cried up" again by one-third in 1572.

Herbert Grueber, generally so observant, in his Introduction to the British Museum *Handbook to the Coins of Great Britain*, says very definitely (p. xxxvii): "The lowering of the value of the base money had caused a considerable rise in the market price of the commodities for daily life. To remedy this the current values of all the gold and silver coins were reduced one quarter, so as to make them of the same value as from the 6th Edward IV to the 16th Henry VIII. In 1572 they were again restored to their values as in 1558." But, as we have seen, the alleged proclamation reduced them by one-third, not by one-quarter—e. g. the fine-gold sovereign went down from 30*s.* to 20*s.*—not to 22*s.* 6*d.* This is a very curious slip on the part of a great numismatist, for whose work I have a genuine respect.

Mr. Symonds, however, had a keener eye for these strange phenomena, and the difficulty struck him. But unwilling to jettison the March 4 proclamation, he gives it in *précis*, and then remarks: "I believe that this proclamation was not explicitly revoked or amended, but the previous rating seems to have been indirectly restored by the coinage indenture of 1572 [with Lonison], which assigned to each of the items then ordered the higher value current before March, 1561/2." He does not seem to have noted that it was odd that if an angel was only rated at 6s. 8d. in 1565, the Council should have thought it worth while to warn the public not to take Low Country imitations of the said angel at 10s.!

Mr. Feaveryear, the latest writer on the subject, does not reject the March 4 proclamation, though he must have been aware of its existence from Ruding, whom he often quotes. He ignores it altogether, and I fancy may be of the same opinion about it as I am myself.

I hope that these few observations may suffice to remove from the minds of numismatists the error started by Ruding, and repeated so often since, viz. that the MS. of March 4, 1562, is a genuine proclamation, and that it was acted upon for some time—apparently in the opinion of most commentators right down to Lonison's new indentures of 1572. The internal evidence of its not being an official document seems to me conclusive.

CHARLES OMAN.

II.

THE COINAGE OF THE SULTĀNS OF MĀLWĀ.

[PLATES I-IV (II-V)]

(Continued from *Num. Chron.*, 1931, p. 312.)

MAḤMUD SHĀH I.

BILLON.

13* Sq. *Obv.*

السلطان الا
عظم ابو المظفر
علا الدنيا

Rev.

والدين
محمود شاه
٨٦٩
الحاج

Bill. A.H. 869. Wt. 158.0. [Pl. I (II).]

A.H. 870. Wt. 160.7.

14. *Obv.*

الخليفة امير
المومنين خلدت
خلافته ٨٤٨

Rev.

ابو المظفر
محمود شاه خلج
ضرب بحضرت

Mint-mark 3 over حضر.

شاديا باد

Shadīābad. Bill. A.H. 848. Wt. 130.5. [Pl. I (II).]

All dates from A.H. 845 to A.H. 853 are known.

15. Sq. *Obv.* *Rev.*
 السلطان In square, with corners as
 السلاطين segments
 علا الدنيا ابو المظفر
 والدين . . . خليج
 محمود شاه

In corners (L.M.)

| ضرب هذا | السكة | (بحضرت |

شادياباد

Shādrābād. Bill. A.H. [85]8. Wt. 78.0. [Pl. I (II).]
 All dates from A.H. 850 to A.H. 861 and also A.H. 870 are known.

16. *Obv.* *Rev.*
 السلطان الا ابو المظفر
 عظم علا الد محمود شاه خليج
 نيا والدين ضرب بحضرت
 (?) ٨٤]٧ شادياباد

Shādrābād. Bill. A.H. [84]7. Wt. 64.5.
 Dates of A.H. 845, 848, and 854 are also known.

17. *Obv.* *Rev.*
 السلطان الا In double circle
 عظم علا الد محمود خليج
 نيا والدين شاه
 Margin
 ٨٤٥

Bill. A.H. 845. Wt. 48.0. [Pl. I (II).]

18 a.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	.....	ابو المظفر
	الحليم الكريم	محمود خلیج
	علا الدنيا	شاه
	

Mint-mark 65 to left of علا .

Bill. Wt. 42.0. (I.M.)

19. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	السلطان	ابو المظفر
	العادل	خلیج
	علا الدنيا	محمود شاه
	[والدين]	

Bill. Wt. 39.5. [Pl. I (II).]

COPPER.

20.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	ابو المظفر	٥
	خلیج	الملك
	محمود شاه	دار ٢
		شادياباد ٨

The ي is joined on to the د and the ا stands disconnected.

Shadrābād. Æ. A.H. 865. Wt. 126.6. [Pl. I (II).]

The dates A.H. 864, 866, and 868 are also known.

21.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	As no. 20.	As no. 20.

Shadrābād. Æ. A.H. 850; 86 x. Wt. 67.4.

II. *In his own right.*

27. *Obv.* السلطان
ابن السلطان ولسه في
خليفة الزمان
[والعهد العالمين]
- Rev.*
As on no. 26, but
۸۷۳
- Shadrabad. *AV.* A.H. 874. Wt. 168. [Pl. I (II).]

28. *Obv.* السلطان
بن السلطان خليفة في
العهد والزمان
العالمين
- Rev.*
الفتح شاه
ابو غياث
بن محمود شاه الخلاج
ضربت بدار الملك
شادياباد ۸۷۶
Mint-mark 1.

Shadrabad. *AV.* A.H. 876. Wt. 171.5. [Pl. I (II).]

29. *Obv.*
As on no. 28.
- Rev.*
ابوالفتح
غياث شاه بن محمود شاه الخلاج
ضربت بدار الملك
شادياباد ۸۷۸
Mint-mark 2.

Shadrabad. *AV.* A.H. 878. Wt. 169.7. [Pl. I (II).]

30. Sq. *Obv.*

In square area
 الواثق بالملك الملتج
 ابوالفتح غياث شاه
 Mint-mark 3.

Rev.

بن محمود شاه
 السلطان
 الخلد
 خلد ملكه ٨٨١

A. A.H. 881. Wt. 168.0.

The dates known are A.H. 880-2 with mint-mark 3 and
 A.H. 883-4 with mint-mark 4. [Pl. I (II).]

30 a. Sq. *Obv.*

In double-lined square with
 dots between

الواثق بالملك
 الملتج
 ث
 الفتح
 ابو غيا شاه

Rev.

In double-lined square with
 dots between

بن محمود شاه
 الخلد
 السلطان خلد
 ملكه ٨٨٥
 Mint-mark 6.

A. A.H. 885. Wt. 168.0. (B.M.) [Pl. I (II).]

31. Sq. *Obv.*

As on no. 30 a; without
 square and with mint-
 mark 10.

Rev.

As on no. 30 a without square
 and date ٨٨٨

A. A.H. 888. Wt. 168.8.

Other dates: A.H. 887 (mint-mark 8), A.H. 888 (mint-marks
 10 or 11), A.H. 889 (mint-marks 4 or 13), A.H. 892
 (mint-mark 14), and A.H. 894 (mint-mark 54).

31 a. Sq. *Obv.*

As on no. 31, mint-mark 16.

Rev.

As on no. 30 a, but date
 ٨٩٥

A. A.H. 895. Wt. 168. (I.M.)

32. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

As on no. 31, but mint-
mark 5.

As on no. 31, but date
٨٩٩

A. A.H. 899. Wt. 80.5. [Pl. I (II).]

32 a. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

As on no. 31, but mint-
mark 5.

As on no. 31, but date
٩٠٠

A. A.H. 900. Wt. 164. (B.M.)

In his own right.

SILVER.

33. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

الوائق بالملك الملتج

بن محمود شاه

ابوالفتح غياث شاه

السلطان الخالص

Mint-mark 2.

(sic) ١٨٨ ملكه

R. A.H. 881. Wt. 80.8.

Other dates A.H. 878 (wt. 81) [Pl. I (II)], A.H. 880, 882
(wt. 78.5) (all with mint-mark 2).

34. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

الوائق بالملك الملتج

بن محمود شاه

ث

الفتح

ابو غياث شا

السلطان خلد

٨٨٦ ملكه

Mint-mark 8.

R. A.H. 886. Wt. 80.5.

Other dates: A.H. 886 (mint-mark 8 and no mint-mark,
wt. 80.2); A.H. 887 (mint-mark 8, wt. 81); A.H. 888 (no
mint-mark, wt. 80.3); A.H. 889 (mint-mark 13, wt. 82.3);
A.H. 890 (mint-mark 11 and none).

35. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*As on no. 34, but الله and
mint-mark 53.As on no. 34, but date
٨٩٥

R. A.H. 895. Wt. 81.9.

Other dates: A.H. 894? (mint-mark 2, wt. 77); A.H. 895 (mint-mark 53); A.H. 896 (mint-mark 53, wt. 79.4); A.H. 897 (mint-mark 5, wt. 84, mint-mark 16, wt. 81.5); A.H. 898 (mint-mark 16, wt. 82.5, mint-mark 5, wt. 84, mint-mark 31); A.H. 899 (mint-marks 12 and 5); A.H. 900 (mint-mark 5, wt. 82.5); A.H. 901 (mint-mark 5); A.H. 903 (mint-mark 5); A.H. 905 (mint-mark 19, wt. 82.8). [Pl. II (III).]

36. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

الله الكبرى

شاه بن

سنة ٨٨٨

غياث خان

Mint-mark 10.

محمود شاه

R. A.H. 888. Wt. 37.5. [Pl. II (III).]

Other dates: A.H. 888 (mint-mark 10); A.H. 889 (mint-mark 13, wt. 41); A.H. 897 (mint-mark 16, wt. 38); A.H. 898 (mint-marks 16 and 31, wt. 41.5); n.d. (mint-mark 5, wt. 43).

36*. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*As on no. 36, but mint-mark
6 and date ٨٨٦

As on no. 36.

R. A.H. 886. Wt. 20. [Pl. II (III).]

Other date: A.H. 898 (mint-mark 16, wt. 18.5).

I. *As Walī 'ahd.*

COPPER.

37.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	غياث	السلطان
	شاه السلطان	ابن السلطان
	الحاجي ٨٦٦	ولي عهد

Æ. A.H. 866. Wt. 138. [Pl. II (III).]

Other date: A.H. 867 (wt. 141).

38.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	As on no. 37, but ٨٦٥	As on no. 37.

Æ. A.H. 865. Wt. 61.5.

Other date: A.H. 868 (wt. 65.3).

39.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	As on no. 37 but السلطان.	As on no. 37.

Æ. A.H. 865. Wt. 55.3. [Pl. II (III).]

II. *In his own right.*

39 a. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	ث غياث شاه	السلطان
	بن محمود شاه	بن السلطان
		سنة ٨٨٧

Mint-mark 9.

Æ. A.H. 887. Wt. 269. (W.-K.)

40. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*As on no. 39 *a* but ^s 3As on no. 39 *a*, but mint-mark 3.

Æ. A.H. 879 (reversed). Wt. 138. [Pl. II (III).]

Other dates: A.H. 877 (mint-mark 1, wt. 147·3); A.H. 878 (mint-mark 2); A.H. 887 (mint-mark 9, wt. 130·5).

41. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

Similar to no. 40.

As on no. 39 *a*, but date [^][^][^] and mint-mark 9.

Æ. A.H. 888. Wt. 135.

Other dates: A.H. 887 (mint-marks 6 and 9, wt. 126); A.H. 888 (mint-marks 9, 10, wt. 121·2, and 11, wt. 140); A.H. 889 (mint-marks 6, 13, wt. 133·5, 5, wt. 130, and 11, wt. 121·5) [Pl. II (III)]. A.H. 890 (mint-marks 13, wt. 136·3, 11, wt. 140·5, 11, and 14, wt. 140, and 5, wt. 130); A.H. 891 (mint-mark 5); A.H. 892 (mint-marks 1 and 11, wt. 128); A.H. 893 (mint-marks 1 and 11, wt. 133); A.H. 894 (mint-marks 1 and 11, wt. 136·2); A.H. 895 (mint-marks 1 and 11, wt. 133); A.H. 896 (mint-mark 16, wt. 141·5); A.H. 897 (mint-mark 16, wt. 142); A.H. 898 (mint-mark 7, wt. 146·3); A.H. 899 (mint-mark 5, wt. 136·4); A.H. 900 (mint-mark 5, wt. 115·6); A.H. 901 (mint-mark 17, wt. 135 and mint-mark 5); A.H. 902 (mint-marks 5, wt. 136·5 and 17, wt. 134); 903 (mint-marks 17, wt. 136, 18, wt. 127·5, and 5, wt. 138); A.H. 904 (mint-marks 5, wt. 140, and 17, wt. 131); A.H. 905 (mint-mark 19, wt. 182) [Pl. II (III)]; 906 (mint-mark 17, wt. 134).

41 *a*. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

As on no. 40.

As on no. 40, mint-mark 4.

Æ. date ? Wt. 119. (B.M.)

42. Sq. *Obv.* *Rev.*

غياث خليل

اللطان

شا هـ ٨٨٢

بن

The ث of غياث cuts the ل of

اللطان

خليل.

Æ. A.H. 882. Wt. 66.7. [PL. II (III).]

Also A.H. 888, wt. 72.2.

43. Sq. *Obv.* *Rev.*

ث ة
غيا شا خليل

اللطان

بن

د ة
محمود شا

اللطان
٨٨٨

Æ. A.H. 888. Wt. 69.

43 a. *Obv.* *Rev.*

Similar to no. 42, but

As on no. 42.

٨٨ ة
شا and mint-mark 12.

Æ. A.H. 888. Wt. 72.2. (R.A.S.)

43 b. Sq. *Obv.* *Rev.*

Similar, but سنه ٨٨٨

السلطان
بن
السلطان

Æ. A.H. 888. Wt. 70.8. (B.M.)

43 c. Sq. *Obr.**Rev.*غياث خايج
جAs on no. 42, but mint-mark
11 over lower b.شا هـ
٨٩٣

Mint-mark 1.

Æ. A.H. 893. Wt. 65. (B.M.)

44. Sq. *Obr.**Rev.*As on no. 42, but mint-mark
53As on no. 42, but mint-mark
53 over lower b.سا³
٨٩٥

Æ. A.H. 895. Wt. 67.5. A.H. 896 (wt. 63.5).

44 a. Sq. *Obr.**Rev.*

As on no. 42, but ٨٩٥

As on no. 42.

Æ. A.H. 895. Wt. 75. (B.M.)

45. Sq. *Obr.**Rev.*As on no. 42, but mint-mark
49As on no. 44, but mint-mark
16.سا³
٨٩٦

Æ. A.H. 896. Wt. 67.5. [PL II (III).]

Other dates: A.H. 896 (mint-mark 16); A.H. 896 (mint-mark 5, wt. 63); A.H. 899 (mint-mark 5, wt. 69.5); A.H. 900 (mint-mark 5, wt. 68.5); A.H. 904 (mint-mark 5, wt. 67.5); A.H. 905 (mint-mark 19, wt. 95.5).

46. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

As on no. 39 *a*, but mint-
mark 18 and ۛ

As on no. 39 *a*, but mint-
mark 17 ۛ

Æ. A.H. 903. Wt. 65.

Other dates: A.H. 904 (mint-marks 12 and 17, wt. 65.5);
also with mint-marks 15, 66, 5, and 11.

47. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

غياث خالص
بن محمود شاه

As on no. 44, but mint-mark
17.

Æ. n.d. Wt. 67.

48. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

الواقف بالملك [المستج]
ث
الفـ [ابو غيا شاه]

بن محمود شاه
السلطان خالد
.

Æ. n.d. Wt. 62.

49. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

As on no. 45, but ۛ.

As on no. 44, but mint-mark
5.

Æ. A.H. 890. Wt. 54. [Pl. II (III).]

49 a. *Obr.**Rev.*

As on no. 37, but [۸]۷۴

السلطان

بن السلطان

ابو الفتح

Æ. A.H. 874. Wt. 51.5. (B.M.) [Pl. II (III).]

50.

*Obr.**Rev.*

غياث خلیج

As on no. 42.

No mint-mark.

شاه ۸۷۸

Æ. A.H. 878. Wt. 48.

Other dates: A.H. 876, 877.

51. Sq. *Obr.**Rev.*

As on no. 42, but

As on no. 42, but mint-mark
11.

سا ۸۹۴

Mint-mark 1 over date.

Æ. A.H. 894. Wt. 37.7. [Pl. II (III).]

Other dates: A.H. 891 (mint-mark 11); A.H. 895 (mint-mark 53 on both sides); A.H. 897 (mint-mark 16); A.H. 905 (mint-mark 19, wt. 42); n.d. (mint-mark 5).

NĀSIR SHĀH.

A.H. 906-16 = A.D. 1500-20.

GOLD.

52. Sq. Obr.

Rev.

الواثق بالصمد
 ل
 ابو المظفر ناصر شاه
 Mint-mark 20.

بن غياث شاه
 السلطان خلد
 ملكه ٩٠٨

A. A.H. 908. Wt. 167.3. [Pl. II (III).]

Other dates: A.H. 906 (mint-mark 20, wt. 169), A.H. 907 (mint-mark 20, wt. 120); A.H. 910 (mint-mark 23, wt. 163); A.H. 912 (mint-mark 24, wt. 169.5); A.H. 914 (mint-mark 15, wt. 169).

52a Obr.

Rev.

Enclosed in deeply curved
 border.

نا
 صر

ث
 غياث شا
 بن
 السلطان خلد
 ملكه
 ٩١٣

A. A.H. 913. (12 foiled lozenge.) [Pl. II (III).]

This coin belongs to a *ṣarrāf* in the Lucknow Bazar.

SILVER.

53. Sq. *Obv.*

الوائق بالصمد لم يز له

ابو المظفر ناصر شاه

Mint-mark 20.

Rev.

بن غياث شاه الخليلج

السلطان خلد

ملكه ٩٠٧

R. A.H. 907. Wt. 83.5.

Other dates: A.H. 906 (mint-mark 20); A.H. 907 (mint-mark 20); A.H. 909 (mint-mark 23); A.H. 910 (mint-mark 22, wt. 83.3); A.H. 910 (mint-mark 23) [Pl. II (III)]. A.H. 911 (mint-mark 22, wt. 84); A.H. 912 (mint-mark 24, wt. 80.3); A.H. 913 (mint-mark 25, wt. 83).

54. Sq. *Obv.*

In square with angles in the centre of the sides of the coin; ornamented corners.

ناصر شاه الخليلج

بن غياث شاه

Rev.

In square as on obv.

السلطان

خلد ملكه

٩١٣

Mint-mark 67.

R. A.H. 913. Wt. 161.6. [Pl. II (III).]

Dr. White King mentions a coin of A.H. 914 with similar legends but differently enclosed area and with mint-mark 15 on obv. I suspect that Dr. White King's coin (no. 61) was of the type of no. 55 below and that the rev. legend given to his no. 61 really belonged to his no. 62—see no. 55*a* below. The description of the enclosing area of W-K 61 and the mint-marks correspond with the A.H. 914 coin of the type of no. 55. It is very improbable that a coin of the type of no. 54 was struck in A.H. 914 as no. 55 shows that the type was changed in A.H. 913.

55. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

In circle with ornamented segments.

In circle with ornamented segments.

As on no. 52.

As on no. 52 but ٩١٣

Mint-mark 25 over بو in lower line.

AR. A.H. 913. Wt. 159.2.

Other dates: A.H. 914 (mint-mark 15, wt. 168); A.H. 915 (mint-mark 15, wt. 170) [Pl. II (III)]; A.H. 916 (mint-mark 26, wt. 167.2).

55 a. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

In circle with ornamented segments.

In circle with ornamented segments.

ناصر شا الخايج

السلطان

خلد ما (!)

بن ث
غيا شاه

٩١٤
كـ

Mint-mark 15 to left of ث in lower line.

AR. A.H. 914. Wt. 73.5. (B.M.) [Pl. III (IV).]

55 b. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

لله الكبريا

Traces of date below.

Mint-mark 24 over كبر (this is the mint-mark of 912).

ناصر شا خايج

بن
غياث شاه

AR. A.H. 912? Wt. 35.4. (B.M.) [Pl. III (IV).]

Other specimens: mint-marks 24, 22, 15 or 23, all with illegible dates.

56.

Obv.

ناصر شاه خليج

بن [غيث شا^٥ ٩٠٧

Mint-mark 20.

Rev.

السلطان

بن

السلطان

Æ. A.H. 907. Wt. 20.8. [Pl. III (IV).]

57. Sq.

Obv.

الله الكبرى

Mint-mark 20.

Rev.

ناصر شاه خليج

بن [غيث شاه

Æ. Wt. 19.8. [Pl. III (IV).]

COPPER.

58. Sq.

Obv.

ناصر شاه الخليلج

شا^٥

ث

غيثا

بن

Rev.

السلطان

بن

السلطان ٩٠٦

Mint-mark 20.

The ي forms a knot in the
centre of the coin.

Æ. A.H. 906. Wt. 179.5.

Other dates: A.H. 907 (mint-mark 20, wt. 164.5); A.H. 908 (mint-mark 20, wt. 169) [Pl. III (IV)]; A.H. 909 (mint-mark 23 or 21, wt. 162); A.H. 910 (mint-mark 23 or 22, wt. 165); A.H. 911 (mint-mark 22, wt. 154.7); A.H. 912 (mint-mark 24, wt. 164); A.H. 914 (mint-mark 15, wt. 160); A.H. 915 (mint-mark 15, wt. 167); A.H. 916 (mint-mark 15 or 26, wt. 161); A.H. 917 (mint-mark 26).

59. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	<p>شا ناصر الخلاج</p> <p>ث</p> <p>؟ وا غيا شاه</p> <p>سر س</p>	<p>السلطان</p> <p>بن</p> <p>السلطان</p>
		Mint-mark 68.

Æ. A.H. 914. Wt. 135. A.H. 915 (mint-mark 69, wt. 132.5).

60. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	<p>شا ناصر خلاج</p> <p>بن</p> <p>غيا شاه ٩٠٦</p> <p>ث</p>	<p>السلطان</p> <p>بن</p> <p>السلطان</p>
		Mint-mark 20.

Æ. A.H. 906. Wt. 92.7. [Pl. III (IV).]

Other dates: A.H. 907 (mint-mark 20, wt. 81); A.H. 910 (mint-mark 23, wt. 78.2); A.H. 915 (mint-mark 15, wt. 81); A.H. 916 (mint-mark 26, wt. 82) [Pl. III (IV)]; A.H. 917 (mint-mark 26, wt. 81).

61. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	As on no. 60, but شا	As on no. 60.

Æ. A.H. 906. Wt. 86.5.

62. Sq. *Obv.*

شا
ناصر الخليلج

ث بن
غيا شاه

Rev.

السلطان

بن
السلطان:

....

Mint-mark 69.

Æ. Wt. 65 (L.M.): also wt. 63, mint-mark 68. (I.M.)

63. Sq. *Obv.*

As on no. 62, but

ث
غيا سا

Rev.

As on no. 62, but mint-mark 68.

Æ. Wt. 68.

63 a. Sq. *Obv.*

As no. 62, but differently arranged, mint-marks 71 and 12.

Rev.

As on no. 62, but mint-mark 72.

Æ. Wt. 68.2. (R.A.S.)

63 b. Sq. *Obv.*

As on no. 60.

Rev.

As on no. 62, but mint-mark 20.

Æ. A.H. 906. Wt. 38. (B.M.)

63 c. Sq. *Obv.*

As on no. 60.

Rev.

As on no. 60.

Æ. A.H. 906. Wt. 43. (R.B.)

MAḤMŪD SHĀH II.

A. H. 916-37 = A. D. 1510-30.

GOLD.

64. Sq. *Obv.*

الوائق بالملك الصمد

ابو المظفر محمود شاه

Mint-mark 26.

*Rev.*الابن ناصر شاه
ج

السلطان خلد

ملكه ٩١٧

سنة

Mint-mark 29.

A. A. H. 917. Wt. 166.3. [Pl. III (IV).]

Other dates: A. H. 923 (mint-mark 38, wt. 172); and A. H. 923 (mint-marks 25 and 4, wt. 170.5).

65. Sq. *Obv.*

الوائق بالملك الصمد

ابو الفتح محمود شاه

Mint-mark 20.

Rev.

As on no. 64, but

٩٢٦

ملكه

and mint-mark 36.

A. A. H. 926. Wt. 164.6. [Pl. III (IV).]

66. Sq. *Obv.*As on no. 65, but محمود
written on top of الفتح and
الصمد instead of المفتح

Mint-mark 51.

*Rev.*As on no. 64, but بن below
ملكه and شاه and نا
٩١٣.

A. A. H. 930. Wt. 161. [Pl. III (IV).]

This may be a coin of A. H. 920, but in view of the *kunya* the later date is probable. The earlier *kunya* (ابو المظفر) was being used on coins of 923 H.

SILVER.

67. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

As on no. 64.

As on no. 64.

Mint-mark 26.

Mint-mark 22.

R. A.H. 918. Wt. 79.7.

Other dates: A.H. 917, 918 (mint-marks 26 and 28, wt. 83);
 A.H. 919 (mint-marks 26 and 28, wt. 78.7; mint-marks
 26 and 27, wt. 80.6). [Pl. III (IV).]

68. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

As on no. 65, but in
 circle with orna-
 ments in corners.

As on no. 65, but in circle
 with ornaments in corners
 and ۱۲۲

R. A.H. 922. Wt. 167.6.

Other dates: A.H. 923 (mint-marks 26, wt. 169.5, 26 and 4,
 wt. 165, 26 and 57, 26 and 73) [Pl. III (IV).]; A.H. 924
 (mint-marks 26 and 4, wt. 169).

69. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

Similar, but ابو الفتح

Similar, but ۱۲۴

Mint-marks 40, 46,
 and 55.

Mint-mark 4.

R. A.H. 924. Wt. 168. [Pl. III (IV).]

Other dates: A.H. 923 (mint-marks 40 and 36, wt. 161);
 A.H. 924 (mint-marks 40, 22, 39 and 36, wt. 167.8), A.H.
 924 (mint-marks 40, 26, 39 and 36, wt. 170.3); A.H. 924
 (mint-marks 5, 40 and 36, wt. 168).

69 a. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

Similar to 68, but in
 octagon with orna-
 ments in corners
 (mint-marks 40 and
 52).

Similar to 68, but contained
 as on obverse.

R. A.H. 925, wt. 107. (R.B.) [Pl. III (IV).]

Other date: A.H. 980, wt. 114 (mint-marks 40, 52) (W.-K.).

70. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	In circle with ornamented corners.	As on obv.
	د محمود شا خلیج	ن السلطان خلد مل
	بن ناصر شا	۹۲۳ ک
	Mint-mark 26.	Mint-marks 4 and 34.

R. A.H. 923, wt. 86.3. [Pl. III (IV.)]

Other dates: A.H. 921 (mint-marks 26, 4, and 34); A.H. 922 (mint-marks 26, 4, and 34).

70 a. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	As on no. 70 but mint-mark 40.	As on no. 70, but ۹۲۴ Mint-marks 26 and 39.

R. A.H. 924. Wt. 42.6. (B.M.) [Pl. III (IV.)]
Another with mint-marks 40, 26, and 5.

71. Sq.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	لله اکبریا ۹۱۶ (in left corner). Mint-mark 26 over کبر.	محمود شاه خلیج بن ناصر شا شا Mint-mark 34 below

R. A.H. 916. Wt. 39.7.

Other dates: A.H. 917 (mint-marks 26 and 56) [Pl. III (IV.)]; A.H. 919 (mint-marks 26 and 56).

COPPER.

72. Sq. *Obv.*

د
محمود شاه

بن
نا صر شا

Mint-mark 29.

Rev.

السلطان

بن

ن ٩١٧
السلطان

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 150.

W.-K. 76 is a coin of the same year and weight but seems to have been wrongly described. Mint-mark 40 does not appear before A.H. 921. Possibly W.-K. 76 was a coin of A.H. 927 but the weight indicates an earlier date.

73. Sq. *Obv.*

Similar, but بن dupl.

Rev.

Similar, but mint-mark 17, and without ن over lower س

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 111.5.

73a. Sq. *Obv.*

Similar to no. 73, but
differently arranged;
mint-marks 32 and 78.

Rev.

As on no. 73.

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 137.4. (B.M.)

74. Sq. *Obv.*

Similar to no. 73a,
but mint-mark 30.

Rev.

As on no. 73.

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 135.2.

Other dates: A.H. 918, 919, 920 (all with mint-marks 30 and 17); A.H. 921 (mint-marks 35 and 17, and 17 alone, wt. 134 and 130); A.H. 924 (mint-mark 17 alone, wt. 125).

75. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar to no. 72, but
mint-marks 75 and 74.

Similar to no. 72, but date
between lower ۛ and ۛ;
mint-marks 26 and 29.

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 157.5.

Other dates:—A.H. 918 (mint-marks 29 and 26, wt. 154);
A.H. 919 (mint-marks 33 and 26, 34 and 26, wt. 136.5);
A.H. 921 [ۛۛۛ] (mint-marks 33 and 26, 34 and 26, and 40
alone, wt. 124 and 120); A.H. 922 (mint-mark 26 rev.,
wt. 128); A.H. 923 (mint-marks 26 and 25 rev., 26 and 4
rev., 26 rev., 4 and 26, wt. 125); A.H. 924 (mint marks 41
and 42 rev.; 40 and 5 rev., 41, 42, 45 rev., 41, 42, 43 rev.,
wt. 124); A.H. 925 (wt. 126.5); A.H. 926 (wt. 120); A.H.
927 (wt. 131); A.H. 928 (all with 40, 39 rev., wt. 127);
928 (mint-marks 40, 39 or 5, wt. 127); A.H. 929, 930
(mint-marks 40, 50 rev., wt. 125.5) [Pl. IV (V)]; A.H. 930
(wt. 126); A.H. 931 (wt. 126); A.H. 934, 935 (wt. 125);
A.H. 936 (wt. 126); A.H. 937 (all with 40, 29, rev., wt. 119).

76. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar to no. 74, but
mint-mark 4.

Similar, but ۛۛۛ below lower
ۛ and mint-mark 17.

Æ. A.H. 928. Wt. 128.5.

Other dates: A.H. 928, 929, 930 (all mint-marks 4 and 17);
A.H. 933 (35 and 17); A.H. 936 (17 alone); A.H. 938
(mint-marks 60 and 17).

76 a. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar to no. 73 a, but
mint-mark 31.

Similar to no. 73.

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 65. (B.M.)

77. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar to no. 74.

Similar, but ۛۛۛ

Æ. A.H. 918. Wt. 68.5.

78. Sq. *Obv.*

د شاه
 محمود خا
 ج
 نا بن
 صر شا
 ۹۲۵

Mint-mark 49.

Rev.

الطان
 بن
 اللطان

Mint-mark 5 and mint-mark 59.

Æ. A.H. 925 Wt. 63.8. [Pl. IV (V).]

Other dates: A.H. 918 (mint-marks 22 and 26, wt. 80);
 A.H. 922? (mint-marks 28 and 26); A.H. 924? (mint-
 marks 44, 47, 58 and 44, 41, 47).

79. Sq. *Obv.*

Similar to no. 78, but
 الحاح; without date;
 mint-mark 37.

Rev.

Similar to no. 72, but ۹۲۲
 between lower ن and س;
 mint-mark 26.

A.H. 922. Wt. 63.5. [Pl. IV (V).]

Other dates: A.H. 921 (mint-marks 49, 26, wt. 53.8); A.H.
 922 (mint-marks 49 and 26); A.H. 927 (mint-marks 15
 and 40, wt. 60); A.H. 928 (mint-marks 49 and 40); A.H. 934
 (mint-marks 44 and 40); A.H. 935 (mint-marks 49 and 40).

80. Sq. *Obv.*

Similar.

Rev.

Similar to no. 78, n. d., mint-
 marks 29 and 40.

Æ. Wt. 61.

81. Sq. *Obv.*

Similar to no 72.

Rev.

Similar to no. 72, mint-mark
 17.

Æ. Wt. 60.

81 a. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar to no. 78.

Similar to no. 73, but η λ ;
mint-mark 17.

Æ. Wt. 33.

82. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar, mint-mark 3. Similar, but without date
over lower λ

Æ. Wt. 25.6.

83. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar, mint-mark 37. Similar to no. 78, mint-mark
26.

Æ. Wt. 29.5. [PL. IV. (V).]

83*. Sq. *Obv.*

Rev.

Similar to no. 72.

Similar to no. 76, but mint-
mark 40 and η λ ; below
(inverted):

श्रीराजासाल

Æ. Samvat 1576? Wt. 121.5. Cf. Cunningham, *C.M.I.*;
Pl. X. 15.

This and the following coin were struck in Mālwa. but not by the Khalji dynasty. Cunningham attributes this coin to Rānā Sangrāma (A.D. 1508-29 = Sam. 1565-86), who after his defeat and capture of Maḥmūd at Gagram in A.D. 1519 'was in a position to annex Mālwa'. It is, however, to be noted that the Nāgri reads 'Rāja Sal...' It is possible that the date may be A.H. 921 or A.H. 929. For the inversion of η see no. 75 of A.H. 921—which also has the same mint-mark. A ' η ' in later Mālwa issues not infrequently resembles an '1'. Salibāhan was a prominent Rājput leader who was removed by Maḥmūd about A.D. 1515 (921 H.).

83**. Sq. *Obv.*

As on no. 83*.

*Rev.*As on no. 83*, but mint-
mark 76 and

١٢١٢

A.H. 921? Wt. 56.2. (B.M.)

MUHAMMAD II.

SILVER.

A.H. 917-21.

83a. Sq. *Obv.*

الوائق با ا لملك لصمد

C _____

محمد شا

ابو المظفر

Mint-mark 57 over ابو

Rev.

بن ه شا

نا صر
الخ _____

السلطان خلد

٩١٧

ملكة س

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 83.6. (B.M.) [Pl. IV (V).]

COPPER.84. Sq. *Obv.*

محمد شا الخ

بن ه
نا صر شا*Rev.*

السلطان

بن

ن
٩١٧
السلطان

Mint-mark 57.

Æ. A.H. 917. Wt. 154. [Pl. IV (V).]

84a. Sq. *Obv.*

As on no. 84.

*Rev.*As on no. 84, but π over
lower س; mint-mark 70.

Æ. Wt. 124.5. (P.T.)

84 b. Sq. *Obv.*

محمد
شا الخلیج

صره
نا بن شا

Rev.

السلطان

بن

۹۲۱
السلطان

Mint-mark 5.

Æ. A.H. 921. Wt. 132. (W.-K.)

84 c. Sq. *Obv.*

محمد شا

بن
نا صراه

barbarous

Rev.

السلطان

بن

۹۲۳

السلطان

Mint-mark 17.

Æ. A.H. 922? Wt. 123. (B.M.)

85. Sq. *Obv.*

Similar, but mint-
mark 2.

Rev.

Similar, but n.d.

Struck obliquely.

Æ. Wt. 127.5.

86. Sq. *Obv.*

شا
محمد خلیج

بن
ناصر شا

Rev.

السلطان

بن

السلطان

Mint-mark 57.

Æ. [A.H. 917.] Wt. 76.1. [Pl. IV (V).]

87. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

Similar.

Similar.

Æ. [A.H. 917.] Wt. 36.7. [Pl. IV (V).]

IBRĀHĪM LODĪ.

88. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

همیم
 ابرا شا لود

السلطان

بن

السلطان

اسکنند شا

Mint-mark 17 over lower

س

Æ. Wt. 115.7. [Pl. IV (V).]

Thomas, *Chron.*, p. 377, says that "the issue of this coin is supposed to commemorate the fraudulent acquisition of Chandēri by Ibrāhīm".

BAHĀDUR SHĀH OF GUJARĀT.

A.H. 937-41.

89. Sq. *Obv.**Rev.*

لد
 ا لد نیا
 قطب

بها در شا
 مظفر
 س

۹۳۸
 ابو الفضل

بن السلطان

Æ. A.H. 938. Wt. 117.5. [Pl. IV (V).]

KĀDIR SHĀH (MAHMŪD III OF GUJARĀT).

90.

Obv.

د لطیف
محمود
شا
بن
د بها
شا نو

Rev.

السلطان
بن
ن
٩٤٥
السلطان

Mint-mark 7.

Æ. A.H. 945. Wt. 128.2. [Pl. IV (V).]

90 a.

Obv.

د
محمود شا
بن
شا
د لطیف
شا

Rev.

As on no. 90.

Æ. A.H. 945.

Schulman Sale Cat., 1913 (Bleazby Collection), no. 508.

91.

Obv.

محمود
شا
بن
د بها
شا

Rev.

السلطان
بن
السلطان

Mint-mark 7.

Æ. Wt. 120.5.

92. Sq. *Obv.*

ن
السلطان
بهادر
د
شا لطيف
محمود
٩٤٥

Mint-mark 25.

Rev.

ن
السلطان
ب
ن
٩٤٥
السلطان

Mint-mark 40; inscription reversed.

Æ. A.H. 945. Wt. 120.5. [Pl. IV (V).]

MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL (BĀZ BAHĀDUR, GOVERNOR).

93. *Obv.*

سلطان
محمد شا
المظفر
ابو الله
خلد ملكه

Rev.

? ٩٦٢
ب سنة
ضرب
عرف
مندو?

Mint-marks 7 and 29.

Æ. Shādrābad 'urf Mandū? A.H. 962. Wt. 160.5.
[Pl. IV (V).]

Other date: A.H. 963 (mint-marks 7 and 29).

94. *Obv.*

Similar.

Rev.

Similar, but

في ٩٦٣
شاد?

and mint-marks 34 and 40.

Æ. Shādrābad 'urf Mandū? A.H. 963. Wt. 156.5.
[Pl. IV (V).]

BĀZ BAHĀDUR.

A.H. 963-68.

98. Sq.	Obv.	Rev.
	باز بهادر	ب ۹۶۵
	<u> </u>	سنه
	ن	ضر س
	ن[سلطان]	<u> </u>
	Mint-mark 22.	عرف
		Mint-mark 77.

Æ. A.H. 965. Wt. 110.5. [Pl. IV (V).]

CORRIGENDA.

1. No. 12 (see *Num. Chron.*, 1931, Part IV, p. 312) proves on analysis to be billon, not silver, and should therefore properly follow no. 19.
2. On p. 307 of *Num. Chron.*, 1931, Part IV, for 36 *bis* read 36*.

ABBREVIATIONS.

B.M.	British Museum.
C.M.I.	<i>Coins of Mediaeval India</i> , by General Cunningham.
I.M.	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
J.A.S.B.	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> .
K.	See W.-K.
L.M.	Lucknow Museum.
P.T.	Cabinet of Philip Thorburn, Esq.
R.A.S.	Royal Asiatic Society.
R.B.	Cabinet of Sir Richard Burn.
Thomas, <i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi</i> , by Edward Thomas.
W.-K. or K.	"History and Coinage of Malwa". by Dr. L. White King, <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1904.

APPENDIX A.

TABLE OF ORNAMENTS OR MINT-MARKS.

1		2		3		4		5	
6		7		8		9		10	
11		12		13		14		15	
16		17		18		19		20	
21		22		23		24		25	
26		27		28		29		30	
31		32		33		34		35	
36		37		38		39		40	

TABLE OF ORNAMENTS OR MINT-MARKS (*cont.*)

41		42		43		44		45	
46		47		48		49		50	
51		52		53		54		55	
56		57		58		59		60	
61		62		63		64		65	
66		67		68		69		70	
71		72		73		74		75	
76		77		78					

APPENDIX B.

TABLE SHOWING THE MINT-MARKS OBSERVED ON THE COINS OF
EACH YEAR FROM A.H. 874 TO 938

Ghiyās Shāh.

A.H.	A		Ar		Æ	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
874	—	—	—	—	—	—
875	—	—	—	—	—	—
876	1	—	—	—	—	—
877	—	—	—	—	1	—
878	2	—	2	—	2	—
879	—	—	—	—	3	—
880	3	—	2	—	—	—
881	3	—	2	—	—	—
882	3	—	2	—	—	—
883	4	—	—	—	—	—
884	4	—	—	—	—	—
885	6	—	—	—	—	—
886	—	—	8	—	—	—
	—	—	6 ($\frac{1}{8}$)	—	—	—
	—	—	nil	—	—	—
887	8	—	—	—	9	—
	—	—	—	—	6	—
888	10	—	nil	—	10	—
	11	—	10 ($\frac{1}{4}$)	—	9	—
	—	—	—	—	6	—
	—	—	—	—	11	—
	—	—	—	—	12	—
889	4	—	—	—	5	—
	13	—	13 ($\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$)	—	13	—
	—	—	—	—	6	—
	—	—	—	—	11	—
890	—	—	11	—	11	—
	—	—	nil	—	13	—
	—	—	—	—	5	—
	—	—	—	—	14	11
891	—	—	—	—	5	—
	—	—	—	—	15 ($\frac{1}{4}$)	—
892	—	—	—	—	1	11
893	—	—	—	—	1	11
894	54	—	2	—	1	11

A.H.	A		R		Æ	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
895	16	—	53	—	1	11
896	—	—	53	—	53	53
	—	—	—	—	49	16
897	—	—	16	—	1	3
	—	—	5	—		16
898	—	—	16	—		—
	—	—	5	—		5
	—	—	31 ($\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$)	—		7
899	5	—	5	—		5
	—	—	7	—		—
	—	—	12	—		—
900	5	—	5	—		5
901	—	—	5	—		5
902	—	—	—	—		5
	—	—	—	—		17
903	—	—	5	—		5
	—	—	—	—		17
	—	—	—	—	18	17
904	—	—	—	—		5
	—	—	—	—		17
	—	—	—	—	12	17
905	—	—	19	—		19
906	—	—	—	—		17

Nāṣir Shāh.

906	20	20	20
907	20	20	20
908	20	—	20
909	—	23	23
	—	—	21
910	23	23	23
	—	22	22
911	—	22	22
912	24	24	24
913	—	67	—
	—	25	—
914	15	15	15
	—	—	63

A.H.	A		A.		Æ	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
915	—	—	15	—	15	—
	—	—	—	—	17	—
	—	—	—	—	26	—
916	—	—	26	—	26	—
	—	—	—	—	15	—
917	—	—	—	—	26	—

Muḥmūd Shāḥ II.

916	—	—	26	34	—	—
917	26	29	26	56 ($\frac{1}{4}$)	31	17
	—	—	—	—	32	17
	—	—	—	—	30	17
	—	—	—	—	29	27
	—	—	—	—	75-74	26
918	—	—	26	22	29	26
	—	—	—	—	22	26 ($\frac{1}{2}$)
	—	—	26	28	30	17
	—	—	—	—	32	17
919	—	—	26	28	33	26
	—	—	26	27	34	26
	—	—	26	56 ($\frac{1}{4}$)	30	17
920	—	—	—	—	—	—
921	—	—	26	4, 34	33	26
	—	—	—	—	34	26
	—	—	—	—	49	26
	—	—	—	—	35	17
	—	—	—	—	36	17
	—	—	—	—	—	40
922	—	—	26	4, 34	49	26
	—	—	—	—	28	26 ($\frac{1}{2}$)
	—	—	26	36	37	26 ($\frac{1}{4}$)
923	38	—	26	—	—	26, 25
	25	4	26	4	—	26, 4
	—	—	26	57	4	26
	—	—	26, 73	36	29	26
	—	—	40	36	—	—

A.H.	A'		R		Æ	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
924	—	—	26	4	—	41, 42
	—	—	40, 55, 46	4	—	40, 5
	—	—	40, 22, 39	36	—	41, 42, 45
	—	—	40, 5	36	($\frac{1}{2}$) —	44, 47, 58
	—	—	40	39, 26 ($\frac{1}{4}$)	($\frac{1}{2}$) —	44, 41, 47
	—	—	40	5, 26 ($\frac{1}{4}$)	—	—
925	—	—	40, 52,	36	—	40, 39
	—	—	—	—	49	59, 5
926	20	36	—	—	—	40, 39
927	—	—	—	—	—	40, 39
	—	—	—	—	($\frac{1}{2}$) 15	40
928	—	—	—	—	15	40, 39
	—	—	—	—	49	40
	—	—	—	—	4	17
929	—	—	—	—	4	17
	—	—	—	—	—	40, 50
930	51	27	40, 52	36	—	40, 52
	—	—	—	—	4	17
	—	—	—	—	—	40, 29
931	—	—	—	—	—	40, 29
932	—	—	—	—	—	—
933	—	—	—	—	35	17
934	—	—	—	—	—	40, 29
935	—	—	—	—	49	40
936	—	—	—	—	—	40, 29
	—	—	—	—	—	17
937	—	—	—	—	—	40
938	—	—	—	—	60	17

APPENDIX C.

TABLE SHOWING RESULT OF ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN COINS.

<i>Cut. No.</i>	<i>King.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Weight in grains.</i>	<i>Sp. Grav.</i>	<i>% Silver.</i>
R 2	Hoshang Shah	837	147.5	9.70	50
R 3	"	838	78.0	9.96	66
R 9	Mahmūd I	841	167.5	10.20	83
R 10	"	—	81.0	9.79	60
B 12	"	848	32.3	9.25	28
B 13	"	848	164.3	9.06	10
	"	870	167.5	8.84	Base metal, plated.
B 13*	"	870	160.7	9.58	40
B 14	"	847	129.0	8.82	? Base metal.
B 14	"	848	139.5	9.56	17
B 15	"	870	76.8	8.94	Base metal, plated.
B 17	"	845	48.0	9.04	10
B 19	"	—	39.5	9.31	29
R 33	Ghiyas Shah	878	81.0	10.15	82
R 35	"	898	84.0	10.21	83
R 36	"	888	37.5	9.55	47
	"	889	41.0	10.36	93
	"	898	40.5	10.31	90
R 36*	"	886	20.0	10.56	Pure?
R 53	Nasir Shah	910	83.3	9.92	65
R 54	"	913	161.6	10.31	90
R 55	"	915	170.0	9.84	60
R 56	"	907	20.8	9.96	66
R 57	"	—	19.8	10.16	82
R 67	Mahmūd II	919	80.6	9.96	66
R 68	"	923	168.0	9.68	49
R 69	"	924	168.0	9.96	66
R 69	"	924	167.8	9.94	66
R 70	"	923	86.3	9.85	60
R 70 a	"	924	42.6	9.87	60
R 71	"	917	40.8	10.16	82
R 83 a	Muhammad II	917	83.6	9.68	49

III.

A MITHRAIC TESSERA FROM VERULAM.



TOWARDS the close of the excavations at St. Albans in 1931 there was found under the floor of a room, probably of the second half of the second century A.D., a small disk of silver, 0.8 inch (20 mm.) in diameter, 36.8 gr. (2.38 gm.) in weight. One side was blank, except for an incised legend, **MIΘPAC WPOMACDHC**, read inwardly from left to right in a circle, **ΦPHN** across the circle.¹ The other side had no legend, but.

¹ The lettering is neat and regular, about the beginning of the third century A.D. (?). The form **W** for long **O** is normal: **D** for **Δ** reminds us that we have to do with the Greek of a Latin-speaking province. For Greek inscriptions in Britain cp. *C.I.L.* vii, pp. 21, 48, 62, &c.; *I.G.* xiv. 2545 ff.; *Eph. Epig.* ix. 1003, no. 1003 a, 1304, 1342; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxv. 75; *Rev. Epigr.* i. 375; *J.H.S.* xliii. 32, note 265, xlv. 191, note 354, xlvii. 203, notes 448-9. For **D** for **Δ**, see *I.G.* xiv. 82.

as type, a figure of Tarpeia, with raised heads, half buried under shields. If the one side tells us clearly that the disk was used as a Mithraic *tessera*, the other side witnesses no less surely that it had originally been a denarius of Augustus. The obverse type and legend, Head of Augustus, bare, r. CAESAR AVGVSTVS, have been completely obliterated; the reverse legend, TVRPILIANVS IIIVIR, has suffered the same fate, while the type of Tarpeia has been spared.²

Our disk presents several features of special interest—some obvious, some needing elucidation. To take the obvious first, our piece is a worn denarius of Augustus, artificially smoothed down so as to leave only the reverse type of Tarpeia. That type actually serves as a very fair representation of the Mithraic nativity, Mithras born of the rock ('de petra natus', 'Θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας', 'πετρογενής')³ and, as such, has obviously been retained with intention. It is the other side of the disk that needs interpretation. ΜΙΘΡΑC, of course, is the Saviour God, known throughout the Empire by that name. ΩΡΟΜΑCΔΗC ('Ormuzd') is recognized at once as the Persian supreme god. On imperial monuments, however, he is normally called by a Greek or Roman name (Zeus or Jupiter)—the use of the Persian form is unique. ΦΡΗΝ, the third of the trinity, can be none other than the sun-god, and, since the publication of the important inscription of Corduba,⁴ can be taken for

² B.M.C., *Empire*, i. p. 6, nos. 29 ff. 18 B.C.

³ Cp. Fr. Cumont, *Textes et documents relatifs aux mystères de Mithras*, Brussels, 1899, i, pp. 159 ff.; ii: no. 19, fig. 32, no. 62, fig. 58, &c.

⁴ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1923-4, pp. 117 ff. Ample

certain as a Greek form of *P'Re* (the divine name of the Egyptian sun-god with definite article) and a final **N** added, probably purely euphonic. The inscription of Corduba contains a dedication to *Ἡλίου μεγάλῳ Φρῆν' Ἐλαγαβάλῳ* and two feminine consorts. It dates, of course, from the reign of Elagabalus and is an echo of his attempt to make the worship of the sun-god of Emesa universal throughout the Empire. The editors conjecture with strong probability that the Egyptian name **ΦPHN** (*P'Re-N*) comes from Heliopolis, a great centre of sun-worship and closely associated both with Emesa and with Egypt. In the Corduba inscription, however, **ΦPHN** is only one of three names of the sun-god. Its use here, to the exclusion of the word *Ἡλῖος* itself, is more remarkable. It may be permissible to suppose that the Greek meaning of the word, "spirit", "intelligence", was retained, and that **ΦPHN** might therefore be at once a proper name and a true characterization of the deity, who was especially associated with spirit and intelligence.⁵

The date of our *tessera* cannot be determined with any certainty. From its place of finding it should fall in the period c. A.D. 150–200; from its lettering we might have thought of placing it a little later: c. 200, then, will not be far wrong. As to its precise use we have only guesses left. It might be thought of as an amulet; but an amulet would, most naturally, be pierced for suspension round the neck. More probably

evidence for the equation, **ΦPHN** = *P'Re-n*, is there given – mainly from Magical Papyri. Cp. e.g. Pap. Brit. Mus. 46 (353, 354); 123, 1, 3. I am indebted for this reference to my friend, Professor Weber of Berlin.

⁵ We are indebted for the suggestion to Professor Fr. Cumont.

it is some kind of pass (σύμβολον), used to obtain admission to Mithraic worship or to show membership of one of the Mithraic degrees. These were seven in number—Corax, Cryphius (or Griffin—?), Miles, Leo, Perses, Heliodromos, and Pater—and each had its special lore and special ordeals and ceremonies of admission. Whatever it is, we can claim it, on the authority of Professor Cumont, as unique of its kind. Mithraism, one of the favourite cults of the Roman army, travelled with soldiers from the East far from its Persian home into every province, Britain among others. But finds of distinct Mithraic character in Britain⁶ are sufficiently rare to make the discovery of our *tessera* a matter of more than ephemeral interest.

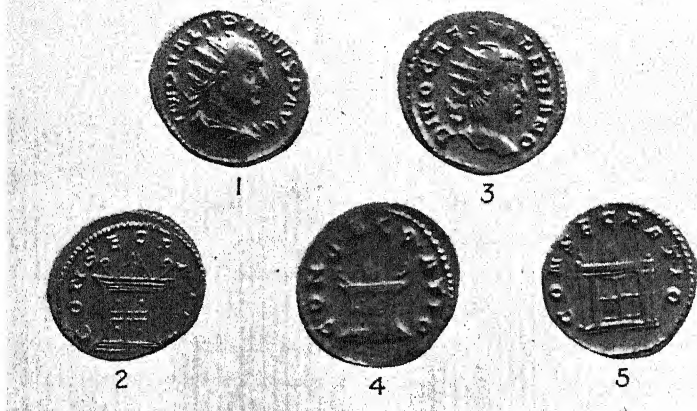
In conclusion I have the pleasant task of thanking Dr. Wheeler, the director of the Verulamium excavations, for permission to publish the *tessera* here, and Professor Franz Cumont and Mr. M. N. Tod, and my colleagues Messrs. Glanville, Shorter, and Hawkes, for kind help in interpreting it.

HAROLD MATTINGLY.

⁶ Cp., for example, *Royal Commission for Historical Monuments*, London, p. 43 and Pl. 10. For evidence from Hadrian's Wall the catalogues of the Museums at Newcastle, Chester, and Carlisle should be consulted.

IV.

VALERIAN'S "CONSECRATIO".



From the writers of the lives of the third-century emperors in the tedious and disappointing *Historia Augusta* down to the latest historians of the Roman Empire, it has been a commonplace to represent the tragic end of Valerian as having been viewed with callous and unnatural apathy by his son and colleague, Gallienus. Gibbon expands the wording of the *Historia Augusta* into one of his usual well-balanced epigrams. "The Emperor Gallienus, who had long supported with impatience the censorial severity of his parent, received the intelligence of the disaster at Edessa with secret pleasure and avowed indifference. 'I knew that my father was mortal,' said he, 'and since he acted as becomes a brave man, I am satisfied.' While Rome lamented the fate of her sovereign, the

savage coldness of his son was extolled by servile courtiers as the perfect firmness of a hero and a stoic."

To this generally received opinion numismatic writers used to add the corroborating fact that Gallienus struck no "consecrationary" coins to commemorate the sad end of his virtuous and much esteemed father. It was an almost unparalleled thing for an emperor who succeeded a parent not to honour his memory by a lavish issue of **CONSECRATIO** money, with the usual eagle or altar on the reverse. Even successors who had notoriously been on bad terms with their predecessors observed the rule—from Tiberius who struck so many types commemorating his divine but oppressive step-father Augustus, down to Caracalla, who had actually plotted and nearly carried out the murder of Severus. It was the more extraordinary, it was said, that Gallienus made no attempt to commemorate Valerian, because he did strike consecrationary coins in considerable numbers to deplore the untimely deaths of his own two sons, Valerian junior and Saloninus, both cut off in early youth, and both dead before Valerian expired in the prisons of Sapor.

No sign of the existence of any consecrationary coin of Valerian senior was known till this year, save that Cohen (in vol. v, p. 541) places in a note the fact that the Abbé Rothelin was said to possess an *antoninianus* with the obverse **VALERIANVS P-F-AVG**, with reverse an eagle bearing an emperor to heaven, and the inscription **CONSACRATIO**, spelt with an A in the second syllable, not the usual E of **CONSECRATIO**, Cohen would not put this alleged piece in the text of his catalogue of coins of the reign. He placed it in a

foot-note, instead of among the regular issues, so as not to vouch for its authority; and added that, if existing, it must be a hybrid or mule, presumably an obverse of Valerian combined with one of the usual reverses of his deceased wife Mariniana. I note that Mr. Webb has catalogued this coin in his new volume V, part i, giving as authority only the reference in Cohen, which is itself only a reference to the Abbé Rothelin, of whose accuracy as a collector I know nothing. From the inscription being **CONSACRATIO** and not **CONSECRATIO** it must (if existing) be ascribed to the mint of Lugdunum, the only one which in the time of Gallienus appears to have been using this particular spelling. There is, unfortunately, no picture of the coin anywhere available, so it is impossible to verify this probable attribution by testing the style and artistic execution of the piece.

Last spring I purchased in Paris a coin which seems to me to be much better evidence for a real consecratory issue of Valerian, struck by Gallienus, and which might remove the stain left on the son's memory by his having taken no notice whatever of his father's death. It is odd that my son, six months later, purchased another specimen in the same city—but not from the same hands. This was a plated coin—bad though the silver of Gallienus's early years might be, the mints still found it profitable to issue plated pieces occasionally.

It shows on the obverse a good elderly portait of Valerian with the inscription **IMP VALERIANVS P AVG**, and on the reverse a flaming altar with the inscription **CONSECRATIO**. The shape of the altar on both specimens is precisely that to be seen on coins

of Gallienus's son, Valerian junior, having very high "horns" at its sides, but no pillars or columns. [Compare figures 1-2 and 3-4 in the illustration.] It is, therefore, not a "leaving over" or stray die from the set of consecrationary coins issued by Trajan Decius for all the early emperors of good repute, from Augustus to Alexander Severus. For in that well-known series the altars all have large thick side-columns, but show no horns—or practically none—projecting on top of the altar-slab, as do these two consecrationary coins of A.D. 259 or thereabouts. [Cf. figure 5—a consecrationary coin of Antoninus Pius.] Gallienus seems to have lost his elder son, Valerian junior, and also his second son Saloninus before he can have received the news of his father's death in a Persian prison. For the elder boy seems to have died in about 256, and the younger was certainly murdered by Postumus in 258, while Valerian must have lingered on in captivity till 259 so far as we can make out.

This **CONSECRATIO** and altar type of Valerian seems to belong to the issues of Milan, as this and Lugdunum were the only mints which used precisely the title **IMP VALERIANVS P AVG**, and Lugdunum is ruled out as a possibility by the fact that all the other commemorative pieces struck there use (as I have already mentioned) the spelling of **CONSACRATIO** with an A. We can also date the die pretty certainly to the last years of Valerian, since the short title without any of his usual longer style—**C·P·LIC·** and so forth—was only in use from 257 to 259, according to the calculations of Mr. Webb and Mr. Mattingly.

But why does not the obverse of the coin bear the inscription **DIVO VALERIANO AVGVSTO** as we

should have expected? The same is the case, as will have been noticed, with the **CONSACRATIO** coin mentioned by Cohen as being in the possession of the Abbé Rothelin. For the credit of Gallienus we should like to believe that the reason was that the senate might have disliked the idea of deifying a defeated emperor, who died in the chains of the enemy, but that his son nevertheless commemorated him though he was not officially a **DIVVS**. But there remains, obviously, the other alternative that the coin may be merely a "mule", that some moneyer of Milan already in possession of reverse dies of Valerian junior, with the usual altar type, carelessly used with one of them an obverse of the latest issue of Valerian senior, which chanced to have got mixed among the obverse dies of Valerian junior. The rarity of the coin—these are the first two specimens ever recorded—might seem to plead in favour of its being a chance error, rather than a deliberate issue; for the consecratory coins of Valerian junior and his brother Saloninus are quite common, and it is certain that Valerian junior died long enough before his grandfather and homonym to allow of his dies with the altar-type being stocked in abundance in all the more important mints. So with the best intentions of the world towards Gallienus, I do not feel able to guarantee that this coin is a token of his having showed proper and natural respect for his parent, though such it *may* have been.

CHARLES OMAN.

V.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., Q.C., F.R.S., F.S.A., ETC.

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC
SOCIETY.



By the kindness of Mr. J. W. E. Pearce I am able to hand to the Royal Numismatic Society a medal struck in honour of Dr. John Lee, who, on December 22, 1838, became one of its founders and its first President. The medal shows that he was a man of fine presence and much force of character. His nose is worthy of Abbot Samson, the strength of his chin is consistent with it, and his record shows that he was a worthy forerunner of the line of eminent men who have occupied the chair of the Society since his day down to and including Sir Charles Oman.

Lee was the eldest son of the marriage of John

Fiott, Merchant of London, and Harriett Lee of Totteridge Park, Herts.

He was born in 1783, and changed his surname to Lee by royal licence in 1815, in connexion with his succession to Totteridge Park, Colwith, Beds, and Hartwell, Bucks., on the last-named of which estates he seems to have principally resided.

Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, he passed 5th Wrangler, and in succession took his degrees of B.A., M.A. and LL.D., the last in 1816. He obtained a travelling bachelorship, and spent three years on the Continent and in the East, giving some time to antiquarian research in the Ionian Islands. He published an account of his discoveries there in *Archaeologia* in 1848.

On his return from that journey he studied law, was admitted a member of the College of Advocates, and practised in the Ecclesiastical Courts until their abolition in 1858. In 1863 (when he was eighty years old) he was called to the Bar in Gray's Inn, and became a Bencher of that Inn in the next year, spending £500 in founding a prize for a student's essay in a selected legal subject, which is still given annually.

He was appointed one of Her Majesty's Counsel in 1864, and died in 1866 "full of years, riches, and honour".

Much of his life was given to scientific and antiquarian research. He became a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1820, held its Hon. Treasurership from 1831 to 1840, became its President in 1862, and presented to it certain properties by way of endowment. He built an observatory at Hartwell, and maintained an astronomer there.

He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1828 and of the Royal Society in 1831. He was President of the British Archaeological Association's Congress at Leicester in 1862.

He committed little of his knowledge to paper, but numerous publications by his friend Vice-Admiral W. H. Smyth (including an important catalogue of the Archaeological and Numismatic Collections at Hartwell) were published at his expense.

In politics he was an advanced Liberal, but four attempts to secure election to Parliament for Aylesbury were unsuccessful.

It is recorded that he was personally a man of unbounded benevolence, a rigid teetotaler, and an enemy to the use of tobacco. He left no issue and was succeeded by a brother.

PERCY H. WEBB.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE IMPERIAL COINAGE

AND

NOTES SUPPLIED BY THE ROYAL MINT SHOWING VARIATIONS FROM THE OBERSE AND REVERSE TYPES ADOPTED IN 1911 (YEARS IN WHICH DIFFERENT TYPES WERE STRUCK WITH THE SAME DATE).

<i>Metal and Denomination.</i>	<i>Date of Coins.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
<i>Gold.</i>			
Sovereign	1929	Modified edge with square beading ¹	Old reverse
Half-sovereign ²	—	—	—
<i>Silver.</i>			
Crown	1927	Modified effigy ³	New reverse ⁴
Half-crown	1926	Old effigy	Old reverse
		Modified effigy	Old reverse
	1927	Modified effigy	Old reverse
		Modified effigy	New reverse
Florin	1927	Modified effigy	New reverse
Shilling	1926	Old effigy	Old reverse
		Modified effigy	Old reverse
	1927	Modified effigy	Old reverse
		Modified effigy	New reverse

¹ Dies for the modified type of the sovereign have been supplied to the Mints at Pretoria, Melbourne, and Perth, but have not yet been worked in London (January, 1932).

² Half-sovereign dies of the modified type have not yet been made (January, 1932).

³ The expression "Modified effigy" here and below refers to the type which bears the initials B.M. on the truncation nearer to the back of the neck than in the 1911 type. In all cases the actual effigy is smaller than the 1911 type.

⁴ The expression "New reverse" here and below refers to the designs authorized in 1927 and used for specimen coins in that year and also for a quantity of shillings.

<i>Metal and Denomination.</i>	<i>Date of Coins.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
<i>Silver (cont.).</i>			
Sixpence	1925	Old effigy Old effigy but new beading and broader rim	Old reverse Old reverse
	1926	Old effigy but new beading and broader rim	Old reverse
	1927	Modified effigy Modified effigy Modified effigy	Old reverse Old reverse New reverse
	1930	Modified effigy with narrower edge	New reverse
Threepence	1926	Old effigy Modified effigy	Old reverse Old reverse
	1927	Modified effigy	New reverse ⁵
Maundy Coins ⁵ 4d., 3d., 2d., 1d.	1928	Modified effigy	Old reverse
	1930	Modified effigy	Old reverse (re-engraved)
<i>Bronze.</i>			
Penny	1927	Modified effigy	Old reverse
	1928	Modified effigy reduced in size	Old reverse
Halfpenny	1925	Old effigy	Old reverse
	1925	Modified effigy	Old reverse
	1928	Modified effigy reduced in size, and re-arranged inscription	Old reverse
Farthing	1926	Modified effigy	Old reverse

⁵ The designs of the Maundy coins remained unchanged in 1927, and the "Modified obverse" was not adopted for these coins until 1928.

In 1930 the reverse dies were re-engraved, though without any change in the design. The reverse for the threepence for circulation differs from the reverse of the Maundy Threepences from 1927 onwards.

A SMALL FIND OF CAESAREAN DRACHMS.

A hoard of 22 drachms of the mint of Caesarea in Cappadocia (A.D. 32-56) is reported to have been found in Syria (exact place of discovery unknown). The coins are uniform in appearance and vary only slightly in condition. None are very fine, although all are above the ordinary condition of these pieces. We are given to understand that these 22 coins constitute the complete hoard. References (S 43, &c.) are to *Num. Circ.*, 1930, col. 187 ff.

- 1 *Tiberius and Drusus Junr.* (A.D. 32-33)
Obv. TI·CAES·AVG·P·M·RP·XXXIV, Head of Tiberius r., laur.
Rev. DRVSVS CAES·TI·AVG·F·COS·II·RP·IT.
 Head of Drusus l., bare. B.M.C., p. 144, n.; S. 43. 1
- 2 Similar, but *obv.* leg. ends XXXV (A.D. 33-34)
 B.M.C., p. 144, no. 171; S. 45. 1
- 3, 4, 5 Similar, but dates obliterated. (S. 43 or 45) 3
- 6-9 *Caligula* (A.D. 37-38)
Obv. C·CAESAR AVG·GERMANICVS, Head of Caligula r., bare.
Rev. IMPERATOR PONT·MAX·AVG·TR·POT.
 Simulacrum l., lituus r. B.M.C., p. 161, no. 102; S. 48. 4
- 10-15 *Germanicus and Divus Augustus.* (c. A.D. 37-38)
Obv. GERMANICVS CAES·TI·AVG·F·COS·II·MI.
 Head of Germanicus r., bare.
Rev. DIVVS AVGVSTVS, Head of Augustus l., rad.
 B.M.C., p. 162, n.; S. 51. 6
- 16 Similar, but *obv.* leg. ends COS·II·IM· (unpubl.),
 S. 51, var. 1
- 17 Similar, but *obv.* leg. ends COS·II·IMP· (unpubl.),
 S. 51, var. 1
- 18 Similar, but *obv.* leg. ends COS·III·IM· (unpubl.),
 S. 51, var. 1
- 19, 20 Same types but *obv.* leg., GERMANICVS
 CAES·TI·AVGV·COS·II·F·M· B.M.C., p. 162, no. 105; S. 52. 2

21, 22 *Nero and Divus Claudius.* (c. A.D. 54-56).

Obv. NERO CLAVD•DIVI CLAVD•F•CAESAR

AVG•GERMA• Head of Nero r., laur.

Rev. DIVOS CLAVD•AVGVST•GERMANIC•

PATER AVG• Head of Claudius r., laur.

B.M.C., p. 283, no. 420; S. 72.

2

A feature in this little hoard worth noting is the preponderance of coins of the Germanicus-Augustus type (half the total) of which 3 give hitherto unrecorded variations of obverse legend (nos. 16-18), while nos. 10-18 read TI•AVG• instead of the more usual TI•AVGV•

E. A. S.

FINDS OF ENGLISH COINS.

The following hoards were declared treasure trove:

1. A small hoard of coins found under a floor in Manor Farm, Emborough, Somerset, in November, 1930, composed as follows:

Elizabeth:	Coins
Shilling (Martlet)	1
Sixpences (Coronet 1570; Eglantine 1573, 1576; Cross 1578; Hand 1590; Woolpack [1594-6])	6

James I:

Shilling of first issue (Lis)	1
Shilling of second issue (Escallop)	1

Charles I:

Shillings (Portcullis; Triangle, 3; Triangle in circle; P in two semicircles; R in two semicircles; Eye)	8
Sixpence (Feathers, 1630, square shield)	1

Total 18

The latest coin is the shilling with Eye mint-mark, which was struck between May and November, 1645.

2. A hoard found in a garden at Coventry in February, 1931, containing one guinea of George III of 1787, 17 half-guineas of 1764, 1781 (2), 1784, 1785 (2), 1786, 1787, 1788 (2), 1790 (3), 1793, 1794, 1801, 1804, and 5 seven-shilling pieces of 1800 (3), 1802, 1803.

3. A small find of gold coins discovered in November, 1930, in Malvern Hall, Solihull, Warwickshire, declared treasure trove and forwarded to the British Museum in May, 1931. It contained 5 sovereigns (2 of 1817, 3 of 1820) and one half-sovereign (1817) of George III, and a sovereign (1821) of George IV.

4. A find of silver coins of the Civil War period made during road-making operations at Buckfastleigh, Devon, in March, 1932. The coins were as follows:

Philip IV of Spain as Duke of Brabant :

Dollar, 1636 and half-dollar (16 - - ?).

Elizabeth :

Shillings (6), including martlet, bell, escallop (2).

Sixpences (8), 1564, 1571, 1573, 1574 (2), 1578 (2), 1592.

James I :

Shillings (2) : lis and illegible.

Sixpence, 1613.

Charles I :

Exeter half-crown, 1644.

Tower half-crowns (3) : bell, tun, triangle in circle.

Shillings (11) : harp, portcullis, bell, crown, tun (2), triangle, triangle in circle (4).

Sixpences (2) : tun, star.

The latest coin is the Exeter half-crown of 1644.

The whole find has been acquired by the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

5. A hoard of coins found at Banbridge, County Down, in February, 1931, containing the following :

English Coins.

Philip and Mary, groat. 1554-1558.

Elizabeth, sixpence, 1575 (i.m. eglantine).

Charles I, shilling, i.m. sun (1645-1646).

Charles I, sixpence, i.m. tun (1637-1638).

Scottish Coins.

James VI, quarter-thistle-merk, 1602.

Charles II, one-merk pieces of 1664, 1670, 1671 (3)
(5 coins).

French.

Four-sols piece of Louis XIV, 1677.

Spanish Coins.

Philip IV, 8-reals, 168-?

„ 8-reals of Potosi, 1662.

„ 2-reals of Potosi, 1656.

„ Quadruple ducatoon of Flanders, 1654.

Charles II (1665-1700). Four-reals of Potosi (uncertain
date).

Three cut pieces of 17th-century Spanish coins.

G. C. B.

REVIEW.

Münzkunde des Altertums mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des römischen Münzwesens bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. VON PROFESSOR DR. FRIEDRICH STEFAN, pp. 44, mit zwei Tafeln. Leuschner und Lubensky's Universitäts-Buchhandlung. Graz, 1932.

THIS little book provides a very satisfactory introduction to the study of ancient coins, though, it must be observed, Greek coins are only treated in a very summary survey, and all the detail is kept for the Roman series. The author has read and considered the accepted tradition and current theories on Roman coinage, has appreciated them in their historical significance and has stated them here in a clear and consecutive form for the student. He has interest and understanding for the development of Roman coinage within the frame of Roman history and succeeds in giving the reader something of his own vision. In almost every case the orthodox view has been preferred, where the choice lay between it and a new theory: this, however, is no detriment to the book—it only marks the limit beyond which it does not propose to go. Here and there we have noticed a slip (e.g. on p. 17 where the half-Victoriate is said to show a head of Apollo as obverse type), but such slips are neither numerous nor difficult to correct when noticed. Perhaps in the discussion of the difficult questions of late Roman money-systems (pp. 29 ff.), the points most under doubt should be indicated: the uncertainty is still too great to admit of positive statement. In general, however, the book is highly to be commended for its moderate and careful tone, its freshness of treatment and its living spirit of scholarship.

H. M.

VI.

THE VICTORIATE.

[SEE PLATES V, VI.]

Two traditions handed down by Pliny, and, until recently, credited more or less implicitly by numismatists, have not only obscured the origin, date, and meaning of the small silver coin known as the Victoriante, but have resulted in a distorted view of the earlier coinage of the Roman Republic generally.

First, Pliny states, "Hic nummus (i.e. the victoriante) ex Illyrico advectus mercis loco habebatur",¹ hence its origin has been connected with the conquest of Illyricum and alliance with Corcyra in 229 B.C. Secondly, he places the institution of the denarius in 269-268 B.C.,² with the result that the victoriante looks like an intruder into the existing monetary system of the Republic, calculated to confuse the silver currency, since there can have been no need for an intermediate denomination between the denarius and quinarius, and still less between the quinarius and sestertius, if the rare half-victoriante ever obtained more than a very limited circulation. The relation of these coins to the republican bronze, assuming a relation to have existed, is even more inconvenient, as the victoriante would have been worth $7\frac{1}{2}$ asses, and the half-victoriante $3\frac{3}{4}$.

But as both these traditions are based on misconceptions, and are now shown to be untenable, our

¹ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii, 3, 13.

² *Ib.*

only course is to set them aside and, having cleared the ground, to reconstruct a more intelligible view of the victoriate, compatible with the coins and with such evidence as can be gathered from finds and external sources.³

At the outset it is essential to emphasize the fact that in its origin the victoriate is quite independent of the denarius; and although the two coins were in circulation together for some time, our evidence goes to show that in order of issue the victoriate was introduced before the denarius. There is no type-relation between the two coins and, as we pointed out, the victoriate does not fit into the denarius system. On the other hand, the victoriate is related denominationally as well as in type to the quadrigatus [Pl. V. 1], which is descended from the didrachms, described not very accurately as "Romano-Campanian", and the older silver coinages of Magna Graecia. Its original weight (52.5 grs., 3.4 grm.) is exactly half that of the quadrigatus, and in currency it probably replaced the half-quadrigatus or drachm [Pl. V. 2]. Its types, head of Jupiter and Victory crowning trophy, correspond with the Jupiter and Victory in quadriga, the reverse type of the quadrigatus, and there seems little doubt that the historical allusion is similar in both cases.

Further, the victoriate bears an unmistakable likeness to certain non-Roman issues as regards its obverse type; as, for example, the coins of the Achaean league

³ For a fuller consideration of the question of re-dating the earlier Roman issues in the light of recent research, see H. Mattingly, "The First Age of Roman Coinage", *Journ. Rom. Studies*, 1929, pp. 19 ff.

[Pl. V. 7], of Agrigentum [Pl. V. 8, 9], of Thessaly, the Magnetes and Boeotia [Pl. V. 3-6]. These issues will be considered in detail later as they undoubtedly help us to fix the date of the victoriate. But viewed generally this connexion with Greek issues shows pretty certainly that the Roman victoriate took its place in an extensive coinage which was recognized not only in Italy, but throughout southern Greece, Illyricum, Epirus, and Sicily. The main purpose of this coinage must have been commercial rather than military, which perhaps explains Pliny's phrase *loco mercis*. It is mainly after the second Punic war that we find the great development of the Mediterranean and Adriatic trade, but it certainly began much earlier, and the policy of facilitating international commerce by a generally recognized standard of coinage goes well back into the third century B.C.

Having thus outlined the main principles of the nature, origin, and purpose of the victoriate, we shall now proceed to show how these principles are substantiated by a more detailed consideration of our material.

Classification of viciories.

The fact that viciories are mostly anonymous, i.e. without letters, monograms, or symbols (see proportion in Table of Finds), increases the difficulty of classifying them except so far as they correspond in style with specimens that bear these distinguishing marks. Our classification is, therefore, mainly confined to the latter, although numerically it is a smaller class.

It is a rule in numismatics that the uninscribed usually precedes the inscribed coin. The earliest issues

of the victoriate must, therefore, be looked for among the uninscribed examples. This does not of course imply that anonymous victoriate as a whole are earlier than those with monograms or symbols, since it is evident that both species were issued concurrently, probably as long as the victoriate lasted.

The two main classes into which the victoriate are here divided represent broadly earlier and later issues, and it is probable that a break of several years occurred between the two groups. In its general principles this classification accords with the views of Mommsen,⁴ de Salis,⁵ and L. Cesano,⁶ but it makes no claim to be strictly chronological.

⁴ *Mon. rom.*, ii, p. 85 ff.

⁵ See Grueber, *Coins of Rom. Rep.* (B.M.C.), ii, p. 178 n, and *passim*.

⁶ Lorenzina Cesano, *Victoriati Nummi, nuovi ripostigli di vittoriati*, *Rivist. Ital. Num.*, 1912. This important article will be referred to frequently in the course of this paper.

THE TABLES.

Republican issues with corresponding
monograms or symbols.

Class i.		Letter, monogram, or symbol.	Characteristics and variations of style.	Victoriate.	Half-Victoriate.	Denarius.	Quintarius.	Sesterius.	As.	Semis.	Trens.	Quadrans.	Sextans.	Uncia.	References.
A		Anonymous	Wt. about 52.5 grs. (3.4 grm.); with ac- tual range of 54-44 grs. (3.50-2.85 grm.) Various styles (corre- sponding with all variants given be- low).	+											
	B	MP	Large head, and usual- ly low relief.	+											G. ii, p. 201. [Pl. V. 14.]
	2	C-M ^s	Similar; but some- times the head is smaller.	+											G. ii, p. 202. [Pl. VI. 9.]

3	VB	(a) Bold distinctive style; high relief. (b) Larger head; lower relief.	+	+												G. ii, p. 198. [Pl. V. 12, 13.]
4	II (<i>obv.</i>)	Coarse work; poor style; rough fabric.	+	+												G. ii, p. 200.
5	CROT	Generally poor style, approximating to that of Class ii.	+	+												G. ii, p. 201. [Pl. VI. 7.]
6	┐ (<i>obv.</i>)	Similar to VB (<i>b</i>).	+	}					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	{ G. ii, p. 180 f. D'Ailly, <i>Mon. rom.</i> , Pl. ciii. [Pl. V. II, VI. 1.]
7	┐ (<i>rev.</i>)	(a) High relief; fine style. (b) Lower relief; larger head.	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
8	┐-T ⁹	Similar to ┐ (<i>a</i>).	+	+					+							G. ii, p. 185. [Pl. VI. 3.]
9	T	Similar to VB (<i>a</i>) and (<i>b</i>).	+	+												G. ii, p. 186. [Pl. VI. 4.]
10	Q, QL	Similar to ┐ (<i>a</i>).	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	G. ii, p. 195. [Pl. VI. 5.]

⁷ Grueber, *B.M. Catal. Roman Republic*.⁸ A victoriate in the Maserà find is described as having C on *obv.* only (cf. D'Ailly, *Mon. rom.*, Pl. C. 10). This is probably an incomplete reading of no. 2.⁹ A victoriate (La Riccia find) with T on *rev.* should probably be as no. 8.

Republican issues with corresponding
monograms or symbols.

	Letter, monogram, or symbol.	Characteristics and variations of style.	Victoriate.	Half-victoriate.	Denarius.	Quinarius.	Sesterius.	As.	Semis.	Triens.	Quadrans.	Sextans.	Uncia.	References.
Class i. B	11	M	Refined work; carefully executed; medium relief.	+		+								G. ii, p. 197. [Pl. VI. 2.]
	12	R	Fairly good work; low relief.	+		+								G. ii, p. 196. [Pl. VI. 6.]
C	13	R	Generally similar to no. 12.	+		+	+	+	+		+			G. ii, p. 190. [Pl. VI. 8.]
		<i>Symbols.</i>												
D	14	Spear-head	Fairly good work in medium relief.	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	G. i, p. 39. D'Ailly, p. 411.
	15	Staff or sceptre (on rev.)	"	+		+		+	+					G. i, p. 53.
	16	Club	"	+		+		+	+		+	+	+	G. i, p. 38. D'Ailly, Pl. lxxxix. [Pl. VI. 11.]

Class ii. A	17	Corn-ear ¹⁰	"	+	+	+	?					G. ii, p. 219.
	18	Torque (?) ¹¹	"	+	+							G. ii, p. 219.
	19	Amphora (?)	"	+								G. ii, p. 220.
		Anonymous	Wt. about 42 grs. (2.72 gm.); with actual range of 48-84 grs. (3.11-2.20 gm.) Head in low relief and weak style; the hair arranged conventionally with indentation at back; strongly marked outline.	+	?		?					[Pl. VI. 10.]
B		<i>Monograms.</i>										
	20	NE	Similar style throughout Class ii, with only minor variations.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		G. i, p. 63.
	21	NR		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	G. i, p. 71. [Pl. VI. 13, 14.]
	22	N		+	+							G. ii, p. 236.

¹⁰ The symbol *corn-ear* occurs on several bronze series. It is uncertain which particular issues are connected with the silver.

¹¹ Nos. 18 and 19 are uncertain, described by Grueber as 'torque' and 'amphora'.

Republican issues with corresponding
monograms or symbols.

	Letter, monogram, or symbol.	Characteristics and variations of style.	Victoriate.	Half-victoriate.	Denarius.	Quinarus.	Sestertius.	As.	Semis.	Tyrens.	Quadrans.	Sextans.	Uncia.	References.
C	23 Crescent	Similar style through- out.	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	G. i, p. 52. [Pl. VI. 16.]
	24 Trident		+		+									G. i, p. 53; ii, p. 314.
	25 Thunderbolt		+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	G. i, p. 56. [Pl. VI. 17 (rev.).]
	26 Dog		+		+			+	+	+	+	+		G. i, p. 58.
	27 Pig		+		+			+	+	+	+	+		G. i, p. 57. [Pl. VI. 20 (rev.).]
	28 Knife		+		+			+	+	+	+			G. i, p. 56. [Pl. VI. 12.]
	29 Meta		+		+			+	+	+	+	+		G. i, p. 59.

30	Staff or sceptre (on <i>obv.</i>)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	G. i, p. 53. [Pl. VI. 18, 19.]
31	Helmet	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	G. ii, p. 225. [Pl. VI. 15.]
32	Cornucopiae ¹²	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	G. i, p. 62 (Ric- cio).
33	Fly or bee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(G. ii, pp. 163, 213; D'Ailly, Pl. lxxxii. 11.
34	Butterfly ¹³ (Cicala)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	L. Cesano.
35	Pentagram	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	<i>Ibid.</i>
36	Scorpion ¹⁴	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	<i>Ibid.</i>
37	Reaping-hook	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
38	Hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

¹² The symbol *cornucopiae* occurs on several issues of denarii and bronze. It is uncertain with which issue the victoriate is associated.

¹³ Uncertain. Mentioned by Riccio, *Le monete*, p. 262.

¹⁴ Victoriates 36, 37, and 38 are not mentioned by Grueber.

FINDS OF VICTORIATES.¹⁵

			I	II	III	IV	V	VI
			<i>Taranto.</i>	<i>Canosa.</i>	<i>Pisa.</i>	<i>Caltrano Vicentino.</i>	<i>Fano.</i>	<i>Renieblas.</i>
<i>Victoriates.</i>								
Class i. B		Anonymous (Cl. i and ii)	171	75	70	263	67	60
	1	MP	10	2	1	2	1	4
	2	C-M	4	2	2	1 ¹⁶	—	1
	3	VB	—	13	2	3 ¹⁷	—	—
	4	VI	—	—	—	—	—	—
	5	CROT	—	—	—	—	—	—
	6	↳ (<i>obv.</i>)	—	2	—	—	—	—
	7	↳ (<i>rev.</i>)	—	6	3	3	—	1
	8	↳-T	—	6	—	—	2	1
	9	T	—	5	—	1	—	1
	10	Q, Q	—	2	1	—	—	—
	11	M	—	—	—	1	—	—
	12	⌘	—	—	—	—	—	—
C	13	RA	—	—	—	—	—	—

¹⁵ The importance of these Finds lies in the fact that, with the exception of no. II (Canosa), they contained only victoriates, denarii and quinarii being consistently absent. But no. II included 9 didrachms and 2 quadrigati, as noted in Table of Finds. Nos. I-V are described by L. Cesano in her article '*Victoriati Nummi*'. Signorina Cesano also mentions finds of victoriates from Ticino (170 coins; cf. *Notizie degli scavi*, 1884), Battipaglia (8 coins), and Foggia (number of coins uncertain; cf. *Zeit. für Num.*, 1878), but as these finds are incompletely reported they are omitted from our tabulation. No. VI, discovered near Numantia, is reported in Schulten's publication on Numantia, *Bahrfeldt-Haebelin*, p. 32. An account of a find of 19 victoriates at Cales is given by N. Borelli in *Antica moneta* (1927), but the find adds nothing of importance to those already given.

¹⁶ Specimen inscribed C-AA.

¹⁷ One with VE.

		<i>Victoriatas.</i>	I <i>Taranto.</i>	II <i>Canosa.</i>	III <i>Pisa.</i>	IV <i>Calzano Vicentino.</i>	V <i>Fano.</i>	VI <i>Revinblas.</i>
D	14	Spear-head	6	4	1	2	3	—
	15	Staff (on <i>rev.</i>)	—	—	—	—	—	—
	16	Club	—	—	1	7	1	2
	17	Corn-ear	—	—	1	2	1	—
	18	Torque	—	—	—	—	—	—
	19	Amphora	—	—	—	—	—	—
Class ii. B	20	ME	—	—	—	2	—	1
	21	AP	—	—	—	9	2	—
	22	MA	—	—	—	3	1	1
C	23	Crescent	—	—	—	11	1	4
	24	Trident	—	—	—	—	—	—
	25	Thunderbolt	—	—	—	7	2	2
	26	Dog	—	—	—	2	—	—
	27	Pig	—	—	—	2	—	2
	28	Knife	—	—	—	2	1	1
	29	Meta	—	—	—	4	—	1
	30	Staff (on <i>obv.</i>)	—	—	—	8	1	—
	31	Helmet	—	—	—	4	1	—
	32	Cornucopiae	—	—	—	1	2	—
	33	Fly or bee	—	—	—	3	1	—
	34	Butterfly	—	—	—	—	—	—
	35	Pentagram	—	—	1	—	1	—
	36	Scorpion	—	—	—	1	—	—
	37	Reaping-hook	—	—	—	2	—	—
	38	Hammer	—	—	—	1	—	—
			191	117 ¹⁸	83	347	88	82

¹⁸ Besides victoriatas Find II contained :—

- 1 didrachm of Tarentum ;
- 4 didrachms of Nuceria Alfaterna ;
- 4 didrachms of Suessa ;
- 1 quadrigatus (ROMA incuse) ;
- 1 quadrigatus (ROMA in relief).

Mintage.

The victoriaties with letters and monograms (class i. B) are connected with trade centres on or near the Mediterranean and Adriatic coasts. Thus, there is practically no question that **VB** stands for Vibo,¹⁹ **CROT** for Croton, and **QR** for Corcyra, **MP** probably denotes Metapontum; **L** may be either Luceria or Locri, and **M** is perhaps Mateola. **N** is doubtful, and Nuceria or Nola have been suggested, but Nora in Sardinia might claim consideration. The letter (?) **Q** or **Q** has so far met with no satisfactory explanation.²⁰

The monograms of class ii. B suggest later forms of some that occur in class i. Thus, **M** may be a later form of **M**, and **AP** of **MP**.²¹ But the point cannot be pressed.

The double letters **L-T**, **T**, have been interpreted as Luceria and Teanum. (Cf. Grueber, ii, p. 185.) Instead of the latter D'Ailly suggests Teate or Tuder (*Mon. Rom.*, p. 691), but it must be admitted that a far more likely place is Tarentum. It may be mentioned too, that as regards style the victoriaties with **T** rather resemble those with **VB**²² which tends to favour the view that the **T** coins were minted in southern Italy.

¹⁹ **VB** has been interpreted as Vibius (cf. Bab. ii., p. 537), but it is improbable that any of the monograms on victoriaties of class i are signatures of moneyers.

²⁰ One suggestion is Querquetula in Latium (cf. Grueber, ii, p. 195 n.), but this has no more to commend it than D'Ailly's suggestion of Quinctius.

²¹ Babelon considers **AP** as an abbreviation of Tampilus, although he rejects **VB** for Vibius. This interpretation is possible since denarii with **AP** appear to belong to the same issue as those with **LP** which is undoubtedly a moneyer's signature.

²² See illustration in L. Cesano's article, *Victoriati Nummi*.

However, the argument from style alone has at best a doubtful value.

The letters C-M are uncertain. That C stands for Croton, Caulonia, or Cumae, and M for Metapontum, Mesma, or Misenum are merely conjectures without much to support them.²³ But a suggestion worth considering is that the letters C-M may stand for Sardinian mints. A victoriate in the Caltrano find (IV) reads C-AA; and if this is not merely an engraver's blunder, it looks as if M and AA are two forms of the same mint-mark. It may be mentioned, too, that bronze with C and M are generally overstruck on coins of Sardinia, and considerable numbers of them have been discovered in Sardinia.²⁴

It may appear surprising that no victoriate are certainly connected with Rhegium or Sicily, and only conjecturally with Tarentum, all of which are inherently likely on account of their commercial importance. Rhegium continued to issue coins long after the second Punic war, Catana and probably other Sicilian towns struck Republican bronze, and it is now well established that under the Republic mints for both bronze and silver existed in Sicily, Sardinia, and southern Gaul.

Anonymous victoriate exhibit many differences of style and fabric, and the absence of mint-marks does

²³ It is difficult to discover any reason why there should have been joint mintages in the production of the victoriate. The so-called "alliance coinages" of Asia Minor scarcely supply a parallel.

²⁴ Dr. Buchenau, *Blätter für Münzfreunde* (1897-1901), p. 121. These overstruck bronze coins are of the usual republican types with *rev. prow.* They are mostly sextantes. We have no evidence so far of the discovery of any C-M victoriate in Sardinia.

not preclude the possibility that some of them may have been issued in these districts.

There are definite reasons for connecting the symbol *corn-ear* with Sicily. Bronze coins with this symbol and the monogram K belong almost certainly to Catana, and as a rule are overstruck on coins of Hiero II. Bronze coins with the *corn-ear*, but without monogram, seem to belong to the same locality, and victoriatas with this symbol, as well as a certain number of the anonymous class, show a decided stylistic resemblance to the drachms of Agrigentum. (See below, p. 95.) So that it is distinctly probable that victoriatas were struck in Sicily. And further, it may be suggested that Sicily is not improbably the district in which the victoriate originated.

It is unlikely that victoriatas were issued in Gaul or Spain, and the chance discovery of the only known specimen of the double-victoriate near Tortosa gives no grounds for supposing it to have been struck in Spain. At the same time, a find of victoriatas near Numantia (Renieblas, Find VI) shows that the victoriate was certainly current in the Peninsula.

It is generally taken for granted that the victoriate was struck in Rome as well as elsewhere. But as the victoriate did not originate in Rome, and was designed for foreign rather than home circulation, it is practically certain that, in its earlier stages, its issue was confined to non-Roman mints.

If there is any truth in Mommsen's statement that the victoriate was not recognized as legal tender by the Roman Government,²⁵ it virtually rules out the

²⁵ *Mon. rom.* ii, p. 87; see also Grueber, i, p. 1.

possibility that it was ever struck in Rome. But, although Mommsen's statement is frequently quoted, it seems to rest on no better authority than a false deduction from Pliny and need not be taken too seriously.

On general grounds, therefore, there is no reason why the victoriate in its later development should not have been struck in Rome itself.

*The victoriate in relation to the Republican
monetary system.*

It will be seen from the classification above that none of the monograms or letters, included in class i. B, occurs on denarii. Nos. 1-5 are confined to victoriate and half-victoriate; from which it may be inferred either (1) that they were issued prior to the introduction of the denarius, or (2) that, assuming they were struck in districts remote from Rome, they may have been outside the influence of the denarius in its early stages.

Nos. 6-11 occur on quinarii as well as on victoriate, although it does not necessarily follow that both were issued simultaneously. Moreover, a critical examination of the coins leaves little doubt that the victoriate is the earlier of the two. Most of these victoriate exhibit a bold and decidedly non-Roman style, which approaches closely to the Greek, while the quinarii are characteristically Roman in style and fabric. The victoriate must, therefore, have come into existence first, otherwise we are faced by two improbabilities, (1) that it introduces so inconvenient a denomination as the victoriate on top of the quinarius; the opposite process is quite intelligible, and would

merely tend to make the victoriate fall to the rate of the quinarius in actual currency, (2) that after the establishment of a silver coinage in the Roman style there should have been a sudden reversion to the Greek.

Turning to the table of finds, it will be seen that the Taranto (I), Canosa (II), and Pisa (III) finds contained, apart from anonymous victoriate, only examples of class i. Of these the bulk belongs to class i. B which is unrelated to denarii. In finds I and II the only connexion with denarii is the single type *spear-head*. Moreover, find II, in addition to 117 victoriate, included nine didrachms of south Italy and two quadrigati. We may conclude, therefore, that nos. I and II must have been buried very soon after the introduction of the denarius, consequently the bulk of their contents may be assigned to a pre-denarius date.

In this connexion some interest attaches to the monogram $\overline{\text{RA}}$ ²⁶ which occurs on denarii, quinarii, sestertii, and bronze denominations as well as on victoriate. The point to notice is that, although the victoriate with $\overline{\text{RA}}$ appears to be of somewhat later style than most of those included in class i. B, the rare denarii with this monogram are of almost the earliest type.²⁷ So that, even assuming that these coins were issued simultaneously, the greater part of

²⁶ This monogram may stand for Roma. But this is by no means certain and other explanations have been given, such as Romanus, Romanius, Romanillus or Romilius. It is fairly certain that coins with this monogram were not struck in Rome.

²⁷ As there is no example of this denarius in the B.M. the validity of this part of the argument depends upon the accuracy of D'Ailly's illustration, *Mon. rom.*, pl. cix, no. 11. Cf. Grueber, ii, p. 190.

class i. B must be assigned to a date earlier than that of the earliest denarius.

From class i. C onwards, the victoriate is associated with the denarius.

Here, in passing, it may be mentioned that early issues of denarii fall roughly into two classes or periods according to the style of helmet worn by Roma. On the earliest issues the visor is splayed and convex, on later issues it is peaked in front. Although this is only a very general classification, it serves to give some idea of the relative dates of the coins.

The symbols, *spear-head* (14), *staff* (15), *club* (16), and *corn-ear* (17), occur on denarii of the earlier as well as the later styles, and it is not absolutely certain with which issues the victoriate is connected, but probably with the later.

The victoriate of class ii are far more uniform in style than those of class i. The heads are in low relief and the hair is arranged conventionally showing a deep indentation at the back. The average weight is about 42 grs. (2.72 grm.), and shows a tendency to fall lower.

The three monograms (B) and all the symbols (C), except nos. 34, 36, 37, and 38, occur on denarii of definitely later style which can be assigned with tolerable certainty to the period 175-168 B.C. By this time the quinarius was no longer issued. It may be noted that no quinarii exist with the peaked visor.

We find, therefore, in class ii a system consisting of denarii, late victoriate, and bronze which, at first sight, appears less well balanced than the older system of denarii, quinarii, and bronze.

The explanation is that the victoriate and quinarius

ultimately became assimilated. The quinarius, which does not appear ever to have had a very wide circulation, dropped out in favour of the more cosmopolitan victoriante, and the victoriante in currency became equivalent to half a denarius. This adjustment was not reached in the early stages of class ii, as the victoriante, notwithstanding its reduction in weight, was still slightly heavier than a quinarius.

About 168 B.C., or shortly afterwards, the victoriante came to an end, and no silver coins of less value than a denarius were issued until the quinarius was revived under provisions of the *lex Clodia*, about 102 B.C.

But the interesting point to notice is that this new coin does not reproduce the types of the quinarius, but of the victoriante, which tends to support the view that the two coins had become assimilated long before the quinarius was revived.²⁸

So far our evidence points to the conclusion that in its origin the victoriante preceded the denarius,²⁹ and one or two further considerations will help us to arrive at the probable date of its institution.

(1) Livy makes it clear that during the second Punic war the coin commonly current in Italy was the quadrigatus.³⁰ In its later stages the quadrigatus was

²⁸ Quinarii of this period were struck by T. Cloulius, C. Egnatuleius, C. Fundanius, and P. Sabinus. "*Victoriatas nunc tantundem valet quantum quinarius; olim ut peregrinus nummus loco mercis... habebatur*", Maecianus, *Distributio* xlv. But this may hold good of the victoriante long before 102 B.C.

²⁹ L. Cesano realizes that the early victoriantes cannot be later than the earliest denarii. Hence she assigns the former to 268 B.C. It did not, apparently, occur to her that the traditional date of the denarius might be challenged. Cf. *op. cit.*

³⁰ Livy, xxii, 58, 2.

considerably debased—which is just what might be expected as a result of the *penuria argenti* occasioned by the war, to which Livy refers.³¹

The earlier denarii, on the other hand, show no signs of debasement and consequently cannot have been an emergency or war currency. As the denarius was issued on a very large scale, we cannot reasonably look for its institution till such time as the Roman treasury had been replenished by the payment of war indemnities or the acquisition of booty, which can hardly have been earlier than 194 B.C. We may allow that a few years would have elapsed before so elaborate a monetary scheme could be matured; so that the first issue of denarii may reasonably be placed about the year 190 B.C.³²

(2) Since the victoriate is related denominationally to the quadrigatus, it is natural to assume that it was introduced while the quadrigatus was still current. That is to say, before the institution of the denarius.

It is not quite obvious why so useful a coin as the half-quadrigatus (or drachm) was discontinued after a comparatively short issue. But it is possible that, as the debased and reduced quadrigatus was liable to be confused with the drachm, a more distinctive coin was adopted in the victoriate.

(3) The victoriatas with CROT and V cannot have been issued before 194 and 192 B.C. respectively, as it

³¹ *Ib.*, xxiii, 21, 5.

³² The establishment of this, or approximately this, date in place of the traditional 269-268 B.C., for the beginning of the denarius is so important that I once more refer the reader to Mr. H. Mattingly's article in *Journ. Rom. Studies*, 1929, especially pp. 30-7.

was in these years that Croton and Vibo became Roman colonies.²³ As no examples of victoriaties with **CROT** and **VB** occurred in the Taranto find it may be presumed that this hoard of 191 victoriaties was buried some time before 194 B.C.

(4) Although the victoriate was issued under the authority of the Roman republic, it is, as we pointed out, intimately related to certain non-Roman issues; and it is from this relationship that we derive some of our most interesting evidences of date.

These non-Roman issues are:—

(a) "Double-victoriaties" and their fractional parts issued by the Thessalian League, 196–146 B.C. These coins have as their obverse type the head of Jupiter, as on Roman victoriaties. (B.M.C. *Thess.*, nos. 1–35, 44–6.) [Pl. V. 3, 5.]

(b) Drachms and half-drachms of Agrigentum, struck 213–211 B.C., with obv. type similar to the preceding. (B.M.C. *Sicily*, p. 14, nos. 81–3.) [Pl. V. 8, 9.]

(c) Bronze coins struck at Capua (B.M.C. *Italy*, p. 81, no. 7; Sambon, *Monn. Ant.*, p. 400, no. 1037), Atella (Sambon, p. 409, no. 1055), and Calatia (Sambon, p. 413, no. 1061). These coins have obv. and rev. types similar to those of the victoriate, and are contemporary with the drachms of Agrigentum. [Pl. V. 10.]

If, as is generally agreed, the coins of the Thessalian Confederacy were copied from the Roman victoriate, it follows that the latter must have been in existence before 196 B.C. It is worth noting that the weight standard of the Thessalian coins corresponds with that of the victoriaties of class ii and never approaches the

²³ Livy, xxxiv, 45; xxxv, 40.

heavier standard of class i. Thus the Thessalian coins are contemporary with the later group of victoriate.

As certain victoriate of class i show a decided resemblance to Agrigentine drachms in style, weight, and fabric,³⁴ there is very little doubt that a definite connexion exists between the two groups of coins. Moreover, the occurrence of victoriate types (both obv. and rev.) on the bronze coins of Capua, Atella, and Calatia is too remarkable to be put down to mere coincidence.

These similarities, while scarcely warranting a definite conclusion as to whether one series is directly copied from another, certainly point to a unity of conception running through different coinages which cannot, therefore, be far removed from one another in point of time.³⁵

Fortunately, the drachms of Agrigentum and this group of Campanian bronze can be dated with almost absolute certainty to 213-211 B.C.,³⁶ thus there is good reason to believe that it is appreciably near this date that the Roman victoriate comes into being.

EDWARD A. SYDENHAM

³⁴ Weights of drachms of Agrigentum, 53.0, 52.5 grs. (Weber).

³⁵ Further type-relationships may be noted, e.g., octobols of Capua (Samb., p. 394, no. 1021) with types similar to drachms of Agrigentum; bronze (dextans) of Capua (Samb., p. 395, no. 1023) with types closely similar to Roman quadrigatus.

³⁶ Capua, Atella, and Calatia revolted to Hannibal after Cannae and were recaptured by Rome in 211 B.C. Capua also issued silver coins bearing as types head of Jupiter and eagle on thunderbolt (cf. drachms of Agrigentum), but of approximately twice the weight of the Roman victoriate and Agrigentine drachm. Haeblerlin assigns these coins to 213-211 B.C. ("Die Syst. der ält. röm. Münz.", *Berliner Münzbl.*, 1905, p. 10; see also Sambon, *Monn. Ant.*, p. 394), but gives the corresponding bronze to an earlier date (see also *Journ. Rom. Studies*, 1929).

VII.

THE COINAGE OF EDWARD III FROM 1351.

PART III.

1356-1361 (Series G and Transitional).

[SEE PLATES XI (VII)-XVI (XII).]

SERIES G (*continued*).

THE general description of Series G has already been given (*Num. Chron.* 1929, p. 119 [67]). It now remains to show the groups into which this large series is divided. The details of classification are based upon the groats, as only these exist in sufficient numbers to indicate the various possible privy marks. The groups of the series are indicated by a letter placed after the G.

Series G a. The coins of this group always have all the arches of the tressure fleured on the groats [Pl. XIII (IX). 1-4], an important point to notice, as it at once distinguishes this group from Series E, where fleurs on the arches above the crown are never found except on the two peculiar dies shown on Pl. VII (III) in *Num. Chron.*, 1929, Nos. 7 and 8, which are early coins of Series E and are not easily mistaken for any other group. Series F (i. m. crown) never has these arches fleured.

Besides the fleuring of the arches there is almost invariably an annulet placed under the bust. The reverse nearly always shows an annulet between the pellets in one quarter. It is difficult to account for its absence on the very few coins on which it is not found.

It may be an intentional omission and would then indicate a privy mark, or it may be the result of a blunder, in which case no significance can be attached to it. The group under discussion shows much variation in the ending of the legend on the obverse; *hYB*, *hY*, and *h* have been noted. The letter *N* is also much varied; all the groats reading *hYB* have on the obverse a normally barred *N*. Some of the coins ending *hY* continue this normal letter; on others, which are presumably later, the letter is reversely barred (*N*). An unbarred *N* (*II*) has not been noted on the obverse of Series *G a*. The reverses of this group nearly always have *N* (reversely barred), but the normal letter, *N*, is in evidence on a very few coins of the period when the change from *hYB* to *hY* took place. An unbarred *N* (*II*) is invariable on the reverse when the authorities seem definitely to have settled the type, for the unbarred *N*, and this only, is used when the annulet is in any other quarter than that containing the syllable *QIVI*. There is some variation in the lettering as a whole; the letters with straight uprights, *I*, *N*, &c., occasionally have well-marked serifs. This is very noticeable in the inner legend of the reverse. All these variations of letters have been noted on the mules of Series *G* with Series *E* and *F*; we may therefore feel fairly confident that they were due to the usual uncertainty of detail in the design of a new issue, and that a very brief period of time intervened between the beginning of the issue and the acceptance of all its small details. The inner legend of the groats is sometimes *QIVITTS LONDON* and sometimes *LONDON QIVITTS*, more often the former (that is to say, with *QIVI* in the same quarter as the initial mark);

the earliest groats of Edward III, Series B and C, have the name *London* first. As on some groats previously described, the peculiar reading CIVITVS LOMDOM again occurs in this series.

No broken letters have been noted in Series G*a* except a possible Ω , the formation of this letter on the punch would perhaps render it liable to break unintentionally, as the feet are very thin; Ω on the earlier examples is a short squat letter, this was replaced by a more ornamental form on the regular coins of the group. Annulets always occur as stops in this series, and are placed after each word except the last on both sides of the coin; but the annulet between D and h on the obverse is sometimes omitted, and one is occasionally added at the end of the obverse legend. The annulet between POSVI and DEVM is not always on the same side of the dividing cross; very rarely it is absent. One die in the list shows an absence of a fleur on the right shoulder, probably an accidental omission.

The legends of the normal groats (i.e. subsequent to the early varieties) of group G*a* are therefore:

+EDWTRD•D•G•RAX•TNGLO7•FRTRQ•D•hY
+POSVI•DEVM•T/DIVTOR/AM•MAV and
CIVI/TTS/LOH/DOH

It is these only of the groats of G*a* that have the annulet on the reverse in each of the four quarters.

The half-groats [Pl. XIV (X). 5-7] are in agreement with the groats as far as agreement is possible in view of the shorter legends on both sides. The normally barred \mathbb{N} on the obverse does not appear. The obverse legend ends FRTHQ or FRTH. One die omits the fleurs over the crown, a variety not found on the groats.

Annulet stops are again used; but the list shows two coins, one of which has no stops on the obverse and the other no stops on the reverse. Half-groats were struck in much smaller numbers than the groats. There are more examples, however, where the annulet in quarter is omitted. The set of half-groats completing this issue of one year read:

+EDWTRDVS•RAX•THGL•7•FRTHQ
 POS/VI•DEV/TDVT/OREM and
 CIVI/TTS/LOH/DON

an annulet is placed in one quarter of the reverse, each of the four possible positions being known.

Pennies of the Series *Ga* occur [Pl. XV (XI). 1-3], and representatives of each pyx period are known, except that with the annulet in the quarter containing TTS; this probably only awaits identification. The regular legends are: *obv.* +EDWTRDVS•RAX•THGL•7 with annulet under the bust, *rev.* CIVITTS LONDON with an annulet in one quarter. The earlier coins leading up to the finished product show considerable variation.

The obverse legend on a few pennies is +EDWTRDVS•RAX•THGL and there is no annulet under the bust, the reverse legend CIVITTS LONDON with no annulet in quarter (No. 1 in the list). This variety was puzzling until it was noticed that No. 3 in the list was from the same obverse die with an annulet punched in on the breast. The absence of the annulet on the reverse together with the unbarred N in *London* is probably the continuation of the same variety used previously in Series F.

The pennies of Series *Ga* agree with the half-groats

in exclusion of the normally barred *X* on the obverse. Like the groats, some of the pennies read LOMDOM. This spelling of the mint name has never been noted on a half-groat. Two pennies from the same die are known in which a pellet occurs outside the group of pellets under *QIVI*; these pennies have already been mentioned as the only true coins of Series *G* in which the pellet or annulet occurs outside the group of pellets; all the groats and half-groats with the outside annulet have obverses of either Series *E* or *F*. The last coin in the list, No. 17, shows an unusual *Q* for *Q* in *RQX* and a barred *A* in *TAS*.

Series *G b*. See Pl. XIII (IX). 5, 6. A new bust on the obverse; it is rather longer and better proportioned, and the annulet under the bust is always omitted. The arches above the crown are never fleured. The fleurs of the tressure are slightly smaller than those of Series *G a*. The lettering closely resembles that on the previous group. *Q* and *Q* are frequently defective, but the break is in quite a different position from the breaks on these letters of Series *E* or *F*; it now occurs as a slice taken off from the upper end of the serif to the middle of the back of the letter (see fig. 6 on p. 105 below). It is found only on coins of Series *G b* and *G c*; it occurs on some examples of all denominations of the coins, sometimes on one side only, sometimes on both sides. Annulets are again used as stops, and they vary in position in the same way as on the coins of Series *G a*. One die reads *IB* for *hYB*. Some of the trefoil fleurs are rarely replaced by true fleurs-de-lis (No. 11 in list of groats). *A* and *N* are always

unbarred. The reverse united with this new obverse does not differ from that of Series G *a*. That the coins are not mules is shown by the presence of the broken α and ϵ , which never occur on Series G *a*. The annulet occurs in one quarter and the four possible varieties are known on the groats. The spelling LOMDOM is again in evidence. Two groats, Nos. 34 and 35 in the list, are peculiar in the omission of annulets whether as stops or in a quarter of the reverse.

Very few half-groats of this group have survived [Pl. XIV (X). 8, 9]. None are known with the annulet under QIVI or LON. The fleuring of the arches is irregular; one or two side fleurs are occasionally omitted. The upper fleurs are of course absent as a sign of the group. Two pennies [Pl. XV (XI). 4], in addition to three pennies doubtfully attributed to this group, are described below; the two that are of certain attribution have the annulet under QIVI.

Series G c. See Pl. XIII (IX). 7. Obverse same as that of G *b*. Most of the coins are from old obverse dies and have the same broken α and ϵ . None are known with the fleurs-de-lis replacing the trefoils on the arches. The reverse is a new one with saltire stops replacing the annulet stops between the words and in one quarter; the four varieties of position of the saltire are known, making the four pyx periods of the year. The broken α and ϵ show that these reverses, in spite of the saltire stops, were made for use with the obverses with which they are joined; they have nothing in common with later coins which also have saltire stops.

Half-groats of Series G *c* are represented in the list by two mules [Pl. XIV (X). 7, 10]. Like the groats they

have obverses from old G*b* dies. The reverses have the saltire stops in the legend, but no saltire in any quarter; they again have the broken Q and Q.

The pennies [Pl. XV (XI). 6, 7] are rather more numerous than the half-groats. They have saltire stops on the obverse, no stops in the reverse legend, but a saltire in one quarter; the saltire has at present been found in only two of the four quarters, under QIVI and under TTS. One coin is known without any mark in quarter (No. 5 in the list).

Series G*d*. See Pl. XIII (IX) 8, 9. The most important difference on the obverse of this series is the large size of the annulet stops. This feature at once differentiates the group from the preceding groups, which have small annulets as stops. The bust itself varies somewhat from that seen on series G*b* and the broken Q and Q of Series G*b* do not appear on this group. A glance at Nos. 7 and 8 on Plate XIII (IX) will at once show the difference in the bust and lettering. The reverse of this series always has a pellet between the letters T and S of QIVITTS; the annulet in one quarter may be a mere repetition of the older group or it may have significance as a privy mark. It is found in the quarter containing TTS and also in the quarter containing DOII. The dies are new dies with the new lettering of Series G*d*. Q and Q on these coins are broader and perhaps somewhat shorter than the corresponding letters of the earlier groups. Defective Q and Q punches are in evidence; the break in these two letters is in the lower part and goes nearly across the whole letter; it differs, therefore, in this respect from the break found in Series E which only comprises a small portion of the front part

of the letter, and the letters themselves are formed quite differently; there is therefore no risk of confusing the two series on account of the position of the break (cf. figs. 4 and 7 on p. 105 below).

No half-groats or London pennies are known of Series G*d*, but the pennies of York and Durham have been identified and will be referred to later.

Series G*e*. Several changes take place in this small series [Pl. XIV (X). 1]. The most remarkable is a small pellet placed just above the central lis of the crown. New letter-punches for Q and Q make these letters longer and thinner than those of Series G*d*. Trefoils are now found fleuring all the arches. The bust is also remodelled. The large annulet stops are still continued. On the reverse two pellets are placed between the letters of the syllable TTS of QIVITTS; the lettering and stops agree with those of the obverse. The annulet in the quarter containing DOII is still retained. The only denomination of this series is the groat.

Series G*f*. The description of Series G*e* would apply equally to Series G*f* [Pl. XIV (X). 2] if the pellet on the obverse were omitted. The two series are arranged thus because of the muling: G*e* is found muled with G*d*, and G*f* with G*g* as well as with G*d*. No true half-groats or pennies of London are known. The lists show muled half-groats and pennies. Both York and Durham issued pennies of Series G*f*.

Series G*g*. A cross or an ill-formed fleur-de-lis is now found on the king's breast instead of the trefoil [Pl. XIV (X). 3].

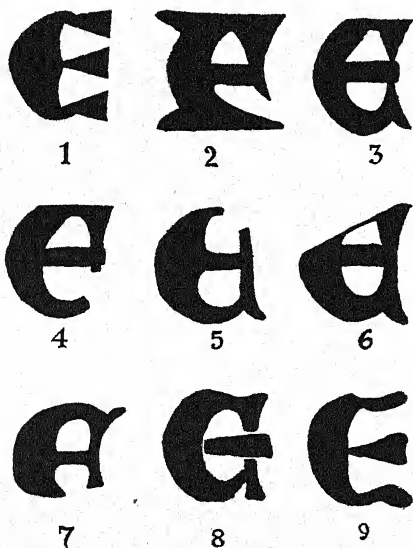
There are saltire stops on both sides. The work

has become very careless, and in this group and in Series *Gh* the groats are perhaps of the worst workmanship in the whole series. The way the bust is stamped into the confining circle is most noticeable on some of the coins for its bad centring. The fleurs on the points of the tressure are frequently misplaced and do not fit on to the cusps. The letter *Ɔ* usually has its cross-bar going right through the front vertical (see fig. 8 on p. 105 below). There are two varieties of the obverse, one without and one with trefoil fleurs above the crown; the latter is probably the later. The reverse, except in the form of letter *Ɔ* and in the use of saltire stops, does not differ from the reverse of Series *Ge* or *f*. The pellets between the letters *TWS* are present and also the annulet in the quarter containing *DON*. No half-groats of Series *Gg* are known. There are pennies muled of *Gf* with *Gg* [Pl. XV (XI). 8], and these are the only London pennies representing the group. Both York and Durham issued true pennies of group *Gg*.

Series *Gh*. Only differing from Series *Gg* on having a distinct open *E* (*Ɔ*) in place of the closed one just described (see fig. 9 on p. 105 below) [Pl. XIV (X). 4]. The coins bearing it are very rare even as mules, and only one true groat is known with the open *E* on both sides. No half-groats or London pennies are known. York pence are unknown, but Durham supplies several examples in this group.

The lists show how very common are mules between the various members of Series *G*. This is a continuation of the same policy which produced the abundance of earlier mules of Series *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, and *F*, and

was doubtless due to the late use of dies which were still serviceable. In all these cases the privy mark must be looked for on the later of the two faces. A glance through the lists will show, for instance, that Series *G a* is muled with *G b* and *G c* on the groats,



and with these and with *G f* on the half-groats. These last would show an interval of at least three years in the dates of the dies for the two faces of the same coin. The gold coins also show considerable muling. A noble, AW/32, shows an obverse of Series *G a* with a reverse of *G e* or *G f*, approximately four years difference in date. The presence of mules is of great use in the classification, and may be a deciding point as to which of two groups should be placed as the earlier. Series *G e* with the pellet over the crown has been placed before *G f*, which only differs in the omission of the pellet, chiefly because *G e* was muled more

frequently with *Gd* than with *Gf*, and *Gf* found a partner in *Gg* rather than in *Gd*.

The varieties of the letter *E* are shown in enlarged drawings on p. 105. No. 1 is that of Series B, nos. 2, 3, 4 are of Series E, no. 5 is of Series F, no. 6 is of Series *Gb* and *Gc*, no. 7 is of Series *Gd*, no. 8 is of Series *Gg* no. 9 is of Series *Gh*.

THE MINT OF YORK.

The closure of the Royal Mint of York in May, 1355, left the way clear for the Archbishop, John Thoresby, to resume his coinage of pennies. He seems to have been in no hurry to do this as we know nothing of any pennies of York for a year at least; there are none known of Series F (i. m. crown), and this series probably began in January, 1356, and went on till April of the same year. When the archbishop's mint reopened, the quatrefoil was replaced in the centre of the reverse. The earlier issues of Series *G* have a pellet in the centre of the quatrefoil, and those issued later have a small cross with a central pellet filling up most of the quatrefoil.

One penny, unfortunately without any special marks, may tentatively be attributed to Series *Ga*. The whole style of the work greatly resembles the London and Durham pennies of Series F, but this coin has the new initial mark, cross 3 (Pl. XV (XI). 15). Series *Gb* and *Gc* appear to be unrepresented, but *Gd* with its large annulet stops and the single pellet between *T* and *S* of *QIVITTS* is known [Pl. XV (XI). 16]. Then probably follow some coins very much resembling these

in which TTS has no pellets, a group unrepresented in London but present at Durham.

Following these there are York representatives of Series G*f* with two pellets between the letters TTS. There are also many which combine this feature with saltire crosses on the obverse; these fall into Series G*g*.

There are some coins of unusual style, such as Pl. XV (XI). 18, which cannot be classified more closely than the broad limits of Series G.

THE MINT OF DURHAM.

The series of Durham pennies is nearly complete [Pl. XV (XI). 9-14]. The recent hoard from Durham contained a large number of Durham pennies and included several varieties which were wanted to complete the series. All the eight groups of Series G are now known except G*e*, a group which at London is only represented on groats. On the penny of Series G*c* is the first appearance of a saltire in one quarter of the reverse (No. 4 in the list), and this coin is the only one known of a provincial mint. Series G*d* has been identified by the forms of the letters, particularly the broken Q and Q, although there is no pellet between the letters TTS. Some Durham pennies, parallel with London coins of G*d* or G*f*, have a large annulet on each shoulder of the King, and some of the Series G*g* have a trefoil of pellets on the King's breast; these varieties are only known of Durham. The list closes with Series G*h* which has the open E on both sides and the unusual reading DVRELMIƆ for the mint name.

On Pl. XV (XI). 14 is illustrated a Durham penny which seems to defy classification.

THE GOLD COINAGE.

The mint accounts for gold show that large amounts were coined except for the five months from November 6, 1356, to April 1, 1357, when only a fraction over 239 lbs. was struck. The three denominations, nobles, halves, and quarters, are not separated in the accounts.

The comparison of gold and silver is somewhat difficult as the gold coins were not privy-marked in the same way as the silver, and the marks themselves are often so well hidden in the crowded ornament and the long legends as to defy detection. It is possible, however, to compare the lettering of the gold with that of the silver, and in one or two cases the privy mark can be traced. Thus, by the evidence of the letters *Q* and *Q* broken in the same way as on silver coins of Series *G b* and *G c*, we can identify the nobles of these two classes [Pl. XI (VII). 3]. Again, the annulet before the obverse legend on the nobles may be compared with the annulet under the bust on the silver, and so Series *G a* may be distinguished in the gold [Pl. XI (VII). 1]. A further point of contact may be noticed in the nobles which bear one pellet to the right of the upper lis of the cross on the reverse; this may be compared with the one pellet between the letters *TS* of *QIVITTS* on the groats; these nobles and groats have the same form of lettering, including the same breaks in the letters *Q* and *Q*, so there can be little doubt that the gold coins of this class belong to Series *G d* [Pl. XI (VII). 4]. They are followed by nobles which have two pellets at the sides of the upper fleur-de-lis, which correspond to the two pellets between the letters

TTS on silver coins and thus identify the gold of Series *Gf*. Similarly, the gold coins of Series *Gg* [**Pl. XI (VII). 5**] and *Gh* can be shown to bear the late **E** with protruding bar and the open **E** respectively, and in this way afford comparison with the groats.

Half-nobles and Quarter-nobles are few [**Pl. XII (VIII). 1-7**]; their marks of classification agree with those of the nobles.

DATES OF THE GROUPS.

On the basis of the classification described above, can we go a step farther and suggest dates for the various issues of Series *G*? Series *F*, with the crown as initial mark, has been placed in the quarter ending April, 1356; this leaves a period of four years and six months, from April, 1356, to October 26, 1360, for the groups of Series *G*. In only two places in the series can there be much doubt of the quarterly privy mark, firstly in the early varieties of *Ga* which have the annulet always in the **QIVI** quarter, but vary in their legends and in the form of the letter **N**. secondly in Series *Gd* which has an annulet under **TTS** on two groats (Mule *Gb/Gd*, No. 1, and the true coin *Gd*, No. 1) and under **DOII** on the remainder. In the latter case it is not certain whether the pellet in **TTS** is to be taken as the privy mark of three months or to be subdivided into two periods, making six months, by the alternative position of the annulet. I have adopted the plan of placing the early *Ga* coins in a period of three months and also allowing three months for Series *Gd*.

The groups would thus fall to the following dates of issue :

- Ga. April 1356 to June 1356 (early coins)
 July 1356 to June 1357 (normal coins, annulet in four positions)
 Gb. July 1357 to June 1358 (annulet in four positions)
 Gc. July 1358 to June 1359 (saltire in four positions)
 Gd. July 1359 to September 1359
 Ge. October 1359 to December 1359
 Gf. January 1360 to March 1360
 Gg. April 1360 to June 1360
 Gh. July 1360 to September 1360.

This is a reasonable working hypothesis; certainty is impossible in the present state of our knowledge, but the margin of error is small.

TOWER MINT ACCOUNTS FROM NOVEMBER 1356 TO JUNE 1361.

(See *Num. Chron.*, 1913, pp. 222-3 and 238-41.)

	Gold coined.			Silver purchased.		
	lb.	s.	dwt.	l.	s.	d.
Nov. 6, 1356 to April 8, 1357	239	4	8	6,041	17	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
April 8, 1357 to Sept. 29, 1357	4,910	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,468	9	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sept. 29, 1357 to April 1, 1358	3,169	13	9 $\frac{3}{8}$	3,591	4	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
April 1, 1358 to Sept. 29, 1358	4,308	2	7 $\frac{7}{8}$	6,260	9	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sept. 29, 1358 to April 21, 1359	2,248	11	2 $\frac{5}{8}$	2,299	18	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
April 21, 1359 to Sept. 29, 1359	4,284	0	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	6,038	3	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sept. 29, 1359 to April 5, 1360	2,029	13	9 $\frac{1}{8}$	1,880	5	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
April 5, 1360 to June 17, 1360	2,164	5	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,672	16	1
June 17, 1360 to Sept. 29, 1360	accounts missing			1,361	13	1
Sept. 29, 1360 to March 5, 1361	3,222	14	6 $\frac{3}{8}$	902	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
March 5, 1361 to June 18, 1361	5,960	3	3	1,265	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

During this period Henry de Brisele was Master from November 1, 1356 till March 5, 1361, when Walter de Bardi was appointed. On June 20, 1361, Robert de Portico took up the office and held it till Feb. 11, 1363, when Walter de Bardi resumed office.

The Calendar of Patent Rolls, vol. xii, p. 251, has the following entry: "1362, July 11. Notification that the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer have certified in the Chancery that on search being made by order of the King of the assays of the King's money of gold and silver in the Tower of London, it has been found that the money made there in the time in which Robert de Portico has been master of the said money has been good and legal according to the terms of the indenture thereof made between the King and him.'

THE EARLY TREATY PERIOD.

The Treaty of Brétigni was made in 1360 and ratified at Calais in October, but it was not sanctioned by parliament till January, 1361. Its effect on the coins was to remove the French title. This gave room on the larger coins for the addition of the title *Dominus Aquitanie* in an abbreviated form. The coins themselves are a direct continuation of Series G, and there is no gap in the coinage. This is well shown by the mules of the gold nobles. The work on all the coins of both gold and silver [Pl. XVI (XII). 1-11] is careless, even more careless than on the latest coins of Series G; this is a reason for including the series here rather than pre-facing it to the description of the regular Treaty coinage. Some slight changes were made in the types of the coins; the corners of the central compartment on the reverses of gold coins are now ornamented with annulets instead of the little trefoils which had been placed there on previous issues; these annulets on later coins degenerated into large pellets. The groats and half-groats have the fleur of the tressure at each side of the crown replaced by an annulet, and the pennies have

annulets in the two upper quarters of the initial cross. The legends on the gold coins show many blunders, such as TRGVTS for TRGVTS, GLORT for GLORIT, ILLORR for ILLORVM. The penny omits the word REX. On most of the coins certain letters are disproportionately tall and give a very ugly appearance to the coin; the commonest letter of disproportionate height is the letter I; the list shows others. It may be remembered that a tall G was introduced into some reverse legends on late coins of Series G.

The issue of these early Treaty coins shows a marked preponderance of gold, a very unusual occurrence. Following the ratification of the Treaty of Brétigni in October, 1360, a new great seal was made omitting the French title. Dr. Brooke has drawn my attention to a document under this seal dated October, 1360, and we may perhaps conclude that the coins without the French title were first issued about the same time. The Tower Mint accounts from Sept. 29, 1360, to March 5, 1361, show 3,222 lbs. of gold and £902 of silver; from March 6, 1361 to June 18, 1361, 5,960 lbs. of gold and £1,265 of silver. The first period of six months after Walter de Bardi's appointment as Master would probably include all these transitional Treaty coins. The annulets in unusual places on all denominations may have been the privy mark for the first quarter, and the addition of the tall letters that for the second quarter. The blunders in the legends cannot have served as quarterly privy marks; they are so numerous that such a hypothesis would assign to this coinage a far greater duration than is possible.

TABLE OF DIES OF NOBLES

PERIOD 1350-1360

(For descriptions see following pages)

SERIES 70										SERIES 71										SERIES 72										SERIES 73										SERIES 74										SERIES 75										SERIES 76										SERIES 77										SERIES 78										SERIES 79										SERIES 80										SERIES 81										SERIES 82										SERIES 83										SERIES 84										SERIES 85										SERIES 86										SERIES 87										SERIES 88										SERIES 89										SERIES 90										SERIES 91										SERIES 92										SERIES 93										SERIES 94										SERIES 95										SERIES 96										SERIES 97										SERIES 98										SERIES 99										SERIES 100										SERIES 101										SERIES 102										SERIES 103										SERIES 104										SERIES 105										SERIES 106										SERIES 107										SERIES 108										SERIES 109										SERIES 110										SERIES 111										SERIES 112										SERIES 113										SERIES 114										SERIES 115										SERIES 116										SERIES 117										SERIES 118										SERIES 119										SERIES 120										SERIES 121										SERIES 122										SERIES 123										SERIES 124										SERIES 125										SERIES 126										SERIES 127										SERIES 128										SERIES 129										SERIES 130										SERIES 131										SERIES 132										SERIES 133										SERIES 134										SERIES 135										SERIES 136										SERIES 137										SERIES 138										SERIES 139										SERIES 140										SERIES 141										SERIES 142										SERIES 143										SERIES 144										SERIES 145										SERIES 146										SERIES 147										SERIES 148										SERIES 149										SERIES 150										SERIES 151										SERIES 152										SERIES 153										SERIES 154										SERIES 155										SERIES 156										SERIES 157										SERIES 158										SERIES 159										SERIES 160										SERIES 161										SERIES 162										SERIES 163										SERIES 164										SERIES 165										SERIES 166										SERIES 167										SERIES 168										SERIES 169										SERIES 170										SERIES 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NOBLES. SERIES G.

Obverses.

Series G a. Annulet before EDWARD. Small annulet stops.

- AR. °E/DWTRD°DEI°GRT°RAX°TUGL°7°FRTHQ°DhY-B
Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.
- AS. °Q/° RDX°TUGL Bowsprit, ropes 2-1.
- AT. °E/DWTRD°DEI°GRT°RAX°TUGL°7°FRTHQDhY°-B
No bowsprit, ropes 2-1.
- AU. °Q/DWTRD°DEI°GRT°TUGL°7°FRTHQ°D°hY°B°E
No REX Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.
- AV. °E/DWTRD°DEI°GRT°RAX°TUGL°7°FRTHQ°DhY°-B
No bowsprit, ropes 3-1.
- AW. Legend and stops as AV. Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.
- AX. Same legend. DhY-B
Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

Series G b and G c. No annulet before EDWARD. Small annulet stops.

- AY. E/DWTRD°DEI°GRT°RAX°TUGL°7°FRTHQ°DhYB
Bowsprit, ropes 2-3.

Saltire before EDWARD. Saltire stops.

- BA. *E/DWTRD*DEI*GRT*REX*TUGL*7*FRTHQ*DhY-B
No bowsprit, ropes 3-1.
- BB. *E/DWTRD*DEI*GRT*REX*TUGL*7*FRTHQ*DhYB
No bowsprit, ropes 3-1.
- BC. Legend and stops as BA. Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.
- BD. Ditto, but D-B No bowsprit, ropes 2-1.
- BE. E/DWTRDDEI*GRT*REX*TUGL*7*FRTHQDhY-B
Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

Lis in French Arms.	Fleurs on ship (single lions between).				
5	0	2	2	0	Die used for mules G/F AR/78 and 80.
5	0	1	1	0	Die used for mule G/F AS/81.
3	0	1	1	0	Die used for mule G/F AT/82.
5	0	2	2	0	
4	0	2	2	0	
5	0	2	2	0	
5	1	2	2	0	
5	0	1	1	0	Letter X broken.
5	0	1	1	0	Α and Α broken above.
5	0	2	2	0	Α and Α broken above.
4	1	2	2	1	Α and Α broken above.
3	0	1	1	0	Α and Α broken above. No h ^y
3	0	2	2	0	Α and Α broken above. * before GDWTRD?

Series G d.

Nobles (*cont.*).BF*. $\Theta / DWTRD \circ DEI \circ GRT \circ REX \circ TUGL \circ 7 \circ FRTIUQ \circ DhY - B$

No bowsprit, ropes 3-2.

BF. $\circ \Theta / DWTRD \circ DEI \circ GRT \circ REX \circ TUGL \circ 7 \circ FRTIUQ \circ DhY - B$

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BG. $\ast \Theta /$

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

Series G f.

BH. $\ast \Theta$ Normal legend (as BF*), saltire stops.FRTIUQ $\circ DhY \ast - B$

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BI. " "

FRTIUQ $\circ DhY - B$

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BJ. $\Theta / DWTRD \circ DEI \circ GRT \circ REX \circ TUGL \circ 7 \circ FRTIUQ \circ DhY - B$ Θ for \mathcal{Q} in FRTIUQ. X broken above.

Bowsprit, ropes 3-2.

BK. $\ast \Theta / DWTRD \circ DEI \circ GRT \circ REX \ast$

FRTIUQ

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BL. $\Theta / DWTRD$

" "

BM. $\Theta / DWTRD$

" "

BN. $\Theta / DWTRD$

hYB

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BO. $\Theta / DWTRD$

hY-B

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BP. $\ast \Theta \ast / DWTRD \circ DEI \circ GRT \circ REX \circ TUGL \circ 7 \circ FRTIUQ \circ DhY - B$

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BQ. $\ast \Theta \ast DWTRD$

" "

BR. $\Theta / DWTRD$

hY-B

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BS. $\Theta / DWTRD$

hV-B

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

BT. $\Theta / DWTRD$

D-B

Bowsprit, ropes 3-1.

5	1	2	2	1	Α and Θ broken below. Large annulet stops.
4	1	1	1	1	Α and Θ broken below. A large annulet before Θ. Saltire stops.
3	1	1	1	1	Α and Θ broken below. * before Θ
4	1	1	1	1	No broken letters. Α and Θ long and thin.
5	1	1	1	1	Four fleurs in 3rd quarter.
5	1	1	1	1	Die used again with a Treaty reverse.
5	1	1	1	1	
3	1	1	1	1	Late Α
4	1	1	1	1	Late Α
4	1	1	1	1	Late Α
5	1	1	1	1	Late Α
5	1	1	1	1	Late Α in EDWTRD, open Ε in DEI and REX
5?	1	1	1	1	Late Α, all closed.
5?	1	1	1	1	Late Α, all closed.
5	1	1	1	1	Late Α, all closed. Letters unevenly punched in.
5	1	1	1	1	Late Α, all closed. hY missing.

Reverses.

Nobles (*cont.*).Normal legend $\text{I}\theta\alpha\ \pi\tau\upsilon\theta\omega\ \tau\tau\upsilon\chi\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \rho\ \mu\epsilon\delta\iota\upsilon\mu\ \iota\lambda\lambda\omicron\rho\upsilon\omega\ \text{I}\beta\tau\tau$ θ in centre. $\frac{\pi}{15}$

Series G a.

1, 2, 3. Large annulet stops, large θ in centre.

Two similar dies are known as mules in Series F/G, viz. AM/83 and AQ with a recently discovered die.

Series G b or G c.

Large annulet stops, small θ in centre.4. $\text{I}\lambda\lambda\omicron\rho\upsilon\omega\text{I}\beta\tau\tau^{\circ}$ 5. $\tau\tau\upsilon\chi\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma\circ\varsigma\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\upsilon\mu\ \text{No P. } \theta \text{ and } \theta \text{ broken above.}$ 6. $\tau\tau\upsilon\chi\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma\circ\varsigma\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\upsilon\mu\circ\text{I}\lambda\lambda\omicron\rho\upsilon\omega\text{I}\beta\tau\tau^{\circ}$ No P. θ and θ broken above, used also to produce mule AP/86*.A similar reverse reads $\tau\tau\upsilon\chi\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma\circ\varsigma\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\upsilon\mu\ \text{I}\lambda\lambda\omicron\rho\upsilon\omega\ \theta$ and θ broken above. Only known as mule AP/85.A similar reverse, normal legend but $\text{I}\beta\tau\tau^{\circ}$ θ and θ broken above. Only known as mule AP/86.Small annulet stops, small θ in centre.

7-8. Normal legend and stops. No broken letters.

9. " " θ and θ broken above.

10. LLORVMBT " " " A similar coin reads TVTCΩ No broken letters. Only known as mule AP/84.
A similar coin has normal legend and ends IBTT° Only known as mule AP with die like 86 but not listed.
11. Normal legend, no stops. U and E broken above.
- Saltire stops, small E in centre.
12. MEDIVMLLORVMBT
13. Normal legend and stops. U and E broken above, somewhat as on the crown coins. This die used to produce mule AJ/88.
14. IBTT* U and E broken at back.
15. IBTT " " "
16. LLORVMBT " " "
- A similar die was used to produce mule AJ/89.
17. TVTCΩ LLORVMBTT* U for E in TVTCΩ, no letters broken.
18. Legend and stops normal. No broken lettering.
A similar die was used to produce mule AQ/90.
19. LLQVΩ R omitted in LLORVΩ No broken lettering.
A similar reverse reads LLORVMBTT No broken letters. Used to produce mule AJ/87.

Series G d.

A pellet or annulet to right of lis ending the top of the cross.

Nobles (*cont.*).

20. Normal legend and stops. α and ϵ broken at back. This is an old die of Series G c in which the pellet has been added.
21. $\text{TRNIOIENS} \cdot \text{P} \cdot \text{MEDIVN} \cdot \text{ILLORVNIBTT}$ α and ϵ broken below. \mathfrak{H} in TRNIOIENS and ϵ apparently mended.
22. $\text{TRNIOIENS} \cdot \text{P} \cdot \text{MEDIVN} \cdot \text{ILLORVN} \cdot \text{IBTT}$ α unbroken. ϵ broken in $\text{TVT} \epsilon \text{N}$ and MEDIVN \mathfrak{H} in TRNIOIENS
23. Normal legend and stops. α and ϵ broken.
- 24-30. $\text{TRNIOIENS} \cdot \alpha$ and ϵ broken.
31. Normal legend. $\text{TRNIOIENS} \cdot \alpha$ and ϵ longer than the rest of the legend, thin and unbroken.

Series G f.

A pellet either side of top lis. Small ϵ in centre.

- 32-38, 40-41, 46. $\text{Ih} \epsilon \cdot \text{TVT} \epsilon \text{N} \cdot \text{TRNIOIENS} \cdot \text{P} \cdot \text{MEDIVN} \cdot \text{ILLORVN} \cdot \text{IBTT}$ ϵ for α in $\text{Ih} \alpha$, long α and ϵ Another die as 32 was used to strike mule AQ/93.
39. MEDIVN
42. As 32, but no lis in quarter.
- 43, 44. $\text{Ih} \alpha$
45. $\text{Ih} \epsilon$. $\text{TVT} \epsilon \text{N}$ and TRNIOIENS have faults which make them partly illegible. ϵ late variety.

Series G-g. A pellet either side of top lis, large Θ in centre.

47-48. $\text{Ih}\Theta\text{*}\text{XV}\text{T}\Theta\text{M}\text{*}\text{TR}\text{N}\text{I}\text{C}\text{I}\text{E}\text{N}\text{S}\text{*}\text{P}\text{*}\text{M}\Theta\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{M}\text{*}\text{I}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{R}\text{V}\text{M}\text{*}\text{YB}\text{T}\text{T}$ Large Θ in centre, late Θ s.

50, 51, 54. Also reverse of mule AQ/91.

49, 52. Fault in $\text{M}\Theta\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{M}$ Different dies.

53. Careless work. Normal legend and stops. One pellet only to right of lis at top, pellet to each side of lis below.

55. Usual work. Normal legend and stops. No lis in quarter.

56-59. $\text{Ih}\Theta\text{*}\text{XV}\text{T}\Theta\text{M}\text{*}\text{TR}\text{N}\text{I}\text{C}\text{I}\text{E}\text{N}\text{S}\text{*}\text{P}\text{*}\text{M}\Theta\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{M}\text{*}\text{I}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{R}\text{V}\text{M}\text{*}\text{I}\text{B}\text{T}\text{T}$ Late Θ s.

56 has faults in $\text{XV}\text{T}\Theta\text{M}$ and $\text{I}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{R}\text{V}\text{M}$ and the central Θ is reversed. 58 is only known as a mule with an early Treaty obverse.

60. Same legend, two saltires between each pair of words except after $\text{Ih}\Theta$. The pellets are placed over the crown in the second quarter instead of at the sides of the upper lis.

A reverse similar to 60 was used to strike mule AQ/94.

61. Reads $\text{TR}\text{N}\text{I}\text{C}\text{I}\text{E}\text{N}\text{S}$ with a barred first I . There are no pellets at the sides of the top lis.

62. $\text{*Ih}\Theta\text{*}\text{XV}\text{T}\Theta\text{M}\text{*}\text{TR}\text{N}\text{I}\text{C}\text{I}\text{E}\text{N}\text{S}\text{*}\text{P}\text{*}\text{M}\Theta\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{M}\text{*}\text{I}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{R}\text{V}\text{M}\text{*}\text{I}\text{B}\text{T}\text{T}\text{*}$ Late Θ , no pellets, no lis in quarter.

63. Normal legend and stops. Late Θ , no pellets.

HALF-NOBLES. SERIES G.

Obv. G a or G b. Annulet stops.

1. G/DWTR°DEI°G°RAX°TNGI°7°FRTHQ°D Ropes 3-2, no bowsprit. 4 lis in 1st quarter. Lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.
2. Same die as 1.
3. °G/D Another die as 1.
4. Same die as 3.

5. Same die as 1.

6. Same die as 1.

7. Same die as 3.

Obv. G f? Saltire stops.

8. G/DWTR°DEI°G°RAX°TNGI°7°FRTHQ°D Ropes 3-1, ? bowsprit. Lion, lis, lion, lis, lion. $3\frac{1}{2}$ lis in 1st quarter.
9. G/DWTR°DEI°G°RAX°TNGI°7°FRTHQ(D) Ropes 4-1, bowsprit. Lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion. 5 lis in 1st quarter.
10. Same die as 9.

11. Same die as 8.

Obv. G g.

12. Another die as 8, but late G.

Rev. G a or G b. Annulet stops. Lis in upper right quarter unless otherwise mentioned.

1. +DOMMENE·M·RVRRE·TVO·TROVTS·ME· $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ in centre. LAL.
2. As 1, but no stop before TVO. BM.
3. Same die as 1. BM.
4. Same die as 2. RCL.

Rev. G c? Saltire stops.

5. +DOMMENE·M·RVRRE·TVOTROVTS·ME· $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ and $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ broken, pellet in centre, no lis. LAL.

Rev. G f. Pellets at sides of top lis, trefoil fleurs.

6. +DOMMENE·M·RVRRE·TVO·TROVTS·ME· $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ in centre. LAL.
7. Another die as 6. BM.
8. +DOMMENE·M·RVRRE·TVO·TROVTS·ME· $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ in centre, pellets and lis as before, double-struck. LAL, BM.
9. Another die as 6, central $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ reversed. LAL.
10. +DOMMENE·M·RVRRE·TVO·TROVTS·ME· Pellets at sides of lis very large. LAL.

Rev. G g. 3 pellets as fleurs, late $\text{\textcircled{A}}$.

11. Legend as 10. LAL.

Rev. G h.

12. Legend as 11. Open $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ s in legend, closed $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ in centre, pellets at sides of top lis, no lis in quarter. LAL.

Obv. G h.

13. Another die similar to 8, but with open *Es*.
14. Another die as 8, but open *Es*. Lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.
15. Same die as 14.
16. Another die as 14, additional lis at right.
17. Same die as 16.
18. Same die as 16.
19. Another die with open *Es*.

Quarter-nobles.

Obv. G a. Annulet stops. N

1. +*EDWTR•R•TNGL•7•FRTNQ•D•hY* 4 lis in 1st quarter.

Obv. G, sub-group? Saltire stops. II

2. +*EDWTR•R•TNGL•7•FRTNQ•D•hY* 3 lis in 1st quarter.
3. Similar to 2, but *FRTNQ DhY* No stops between these words.
4. Another die as 2.
5. Same die as 2.
6. Same die as 4.
7. Same die as 3.
8. Same die as 4.

Rev. G g.

13. Another die as 11. No lis in quarter.
 14. Another die as 11. With late Θ , pellets at sides of top lis, no lis in quarter. LAL.

Rev. G h.

15. Same die as 12. BM.
 16. +DOMINEN Θ ·III·FVROR Θ ·TVO·TRGVTS·M Θ Pellets at sides of top lis, no lis in quarter. LAL.
 17. Another die as 16. Much rubbed. LAL.
 18. Another die as 16. BM.
 19. Same legend and stops where visible, open Θ , no pellets at sides of lis, no lis in quarter, a pellet each side of crown in 2nd quarter. LAL.

Rev. G d. Saltire stops. II

1. +EXTLTTBITVR·III·GThLORI Small Θ or pellet? in centre, annulet r. of upper lis. BM.

Rev. G f or later.

2. +EXTLTTBITVR·III·GLORIT Small Θ in centre, pellet either side of upper lis. LAL.
 3. Another die as 2. BM-LAL.
 4. Same die as 3. BM.
 5. Another die as 2. LAL.
 6. Same die as 3. LAL.

Rev. G g.

7. +EXTLTTBITVR·III·GLORIT Large Θ in centre, no pellets at sides of lis. BM.
 8. Same die as 7. LAL.

SILVER OF SERIES G.

Groats.

All arches fleured, an annulet under the bust except on the first two coins. An annulet in one quarter of the reverse.

G¹. +EDWTRD·D·G·R·EX·T·NGL·7·FRTHQ·D·h
(no annulet under bust)

G². The same die.

The following have an annulet under the bust :

Series G a.

1. +EDWTRD·D·G·R·EX·T·NGL·7·FRTHQ·D·hYB

2. Same die as 1.

3. Same die as 1.

4. Another die.

5. A third die. This was used as obv. of mule G a/F 9.

5*. A fourth die. No fleur on right shoulder.

6. Ends hYB°

7.

hYB

8. Another die.

9. Legend ends hY. This die omits the annulet under the bust.

9*. Same die as 9.

10. Same die as 9.

11. Same die as 9.

12. Same legend as 9 with annulet under bust.

13. +EDWTRD·D·G·R·EX·T·NGL·7·FRTHQ·D·hY

14. FRTHQ·D·hY

15. As 14.

hY

16. Another die as 14.

17. As 14, but

hY°

18. +EDWTRD·D·G·R·EX·T·NGL·7·FRTHQ·D·h 4 dies.

G¹. POSVI/°DEVM°T/DIVTOR/EM°MEV/CIVITTS LONDON

Annulet under CIVI Ns †

G². As G¹. Another die which was previously used to produce
a mule with obv. of Series F.

1. POSVI/°DEVM°T/DIVTOR/EM°MEV, CIVITTS LONDON

†

2. Another die as 1.

†

3. A third die.

†

4. A fourth die.

†

5. A fifth die.

†

5*. A sixth die.

†

6.

CIVITTS LONDON

†

7. Outer legend as 1.

CIVITTS LONDON

The Q is of a different style.

8. POSVI/°DEVM

CIVITTS LONDON

9. Same die as 8.

9*. POSVI/°DEVM

CIVITTS LONDON

Same Q.

10. A different die as 9.

11. Another die as 9.

12. Again another die as 9.

13. As 9*.

14. Same die as 13.

15. POSVI/°DEVM°T/DIVTOR/EM°MEV CIVITTS LONDON

16. Another die as 15. Much clipped. CIVITTS LONDON

17. As 9.

18. POSVI/°DEVM°T/DIVTOR/EM°MEV, CIVITTS LONDON

† 4 dies.

Groats (*cont.*).

19. Same die as G a 1, with normal Ns.
20. +GDWTRD°DGRGX°THGL°7°FRTHQ° D°hYB
21. Same die as G a 17, ending hY°, Ns.
22. Legend as 9. A long thin bust. DhY
- 23*. Similar to 22.
23. Die similar to G a 12. D°hY
24. Another die as G a 23. D°hY
25. Same die as G a 13. hY
26. Another die as G a 14. hY
27. Same die as G a 17. hY°
28. Same die as G a 17.
29. Same die as G a 26. hY
30. Similar die. hY
31. Same die as 30.
32. Similar die to 14. hY
33. Similar die to 18. h
34. Same die as 22*. °D°hY
35. Same die as 30.
36. Same die as 17. hY°
37. Similar to 14. hY
38. Similar to 14.

Mules.

Obv. G a.

1. Same obv. die as G a 13.
- 1*. Same obv. die as G a 32.

Coins with marked serifs, especially in the inner legend.

19. Legend as 18.

CIVITTS LONDON

†^o 4 dies.

3 different dies.

20. „

5 dies.

21. „

2 dies.

22. „

22*. „

23. „

24. „

Coins with unbarred II in London.

25. POSVI/DEVM

CIVITTS LONDON

No annulet in quarter.

26. POSVI^o/DEVM

CIVITTS LONDON †^o

27. As 26.

†^o

28. Position of stops uncertain.

†^o

29. POSVI/°DEVM

LONDON CIVITTS †^o

30. Same die? as 29.

31. +POSVI^o/

CIVITTS LONDON †^o

32. Die similar to 29.

†^o

33. POSVI/°DEVM, &c.

CIVITTS LONDON †^o

34. POSVI/°DEVM

„ „ †

35. Similar to 34.

„ „ †

36. POSVI/°DEVM

„ „ †

37. POSVI^o/DEVM

„ „ †

2 dies.

38. POSVI/°DEVM

„ „ †

Rev. G b.

1. Same rev. die as G b 7.

1*. +POSVI^o/DEVM

CIVITTS LONDON

Æ broken. DON below POSVI †^o

Obv. G b. Top arches not fleured, no annulet under bust.

2. EDWTRD°D°G°RAX°TUGL°7°FRTHQ°D°hYB
3. As 2. A fault between Q and D
4. As 2.
5. Same die as 4.

Series G b (no annulet under bust, top arches not fleured).

1. +EDWTRD°D°G°RAX°TUGL°7°FRTHQ°DhYB (hY joined)
2. Another die. hY not joined.
3. Same die as 1.
4. Same die as mule 3. D°hYB
5. „ „ DhYB
- 5*. Another die. DhYB
6. Same die as mule 3.
7. Same die as 6.
8. D°IB
9. D°hYB Broken Q
10. DhYB° Broken Q
- 10*. D°hYB
11. D°hYB

The trefoil fleurs are mostly replaced by fleurs-de-lis.

12. Same die as 11.

13. Same die as 11.

14. As 5.

15. Same die as 1.

16. Same die as 10*.

D°hYB

Rev. G a. Letters with serifs.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 2. Same die as G a 23. | † ^o |
| 3. Same die as 2. | † ^o |
| 4. As G a 19. | † ^o |
| 5. As 4. | † ^o |

Annulet in quarter under CIVI

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1. +POSVI/°DEVM°π/DIVTOR/αM°MαV, LONDON CIVITAS | † ^o |
|---|----------------|

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2. Same die as 1. | |
| 3. | CIVITAS LONDON † ^o |
| 4. As 3. | |
| 5. As 3. | |
| 5*. POSVI°/ | CIVITAS LONDON |

A fault over S †^o

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| 6. +POSVI° | CIVITAS LONDON |
| 7. +POSVI°/ | CIVITAS LONDON |

Annulet in 2nd and 4th quarters. †^o†^o

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 8. Normal legend, no stops. | |
| 9. POSVI/°DEVM | CIVITAS LONDON † ^o |
| 10. As 3. Stop between M and M? | ” ” † ^o |
| 10*. POSVI/°DEVM | ” ” † ^o |
| 11. POSVI°/ | CIVITAS LONDON † ^o |
| 12. POSVI/°D | CIVITAS LONDON |
| | annulet? |

Annulet in quarter under TTS

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 13. POSVI°/DEVM α altered. | CIVITAS LONDON |
| | α barred and possibly altered. † ^o |
| 14. Same die as 13. | |
| 15. POSVI/°DEVM | LONDON CIVITAS † ^o |
| 16. POSVI/°DEVM | CIVITAS LONDON |
| | α from same punch as 13. |

Groats (*cont.*).

17. As 16.

18. Legend normal.

DhYB h and Y
joined. A A broken.

19. GDWTD°D°G°RAX°THGL°7°FRID°D°hYB° A broken.

20. Same die as 8.

IB

21. Legend normal. 2 annulets punched in after 7 Ends

D°hYB

22. Same die as 21.

23. Same die.

24. Same die.

25. Legend normal.

D°hYB

No hair under crown.

26. Legend normal. No annulet before 7

°DhYB

27. Legend normal.

DhYB A A broken.

28. Same die as 19.

29. Same die as 19. A broken.

30. Same die as 21.

31. Same die as 9.

32. Legend normal.

D°hYB Large annu-
let stops.

33. Another die as 32. Same stops.

34. Legend normal.

D°hYB

35. Same die as 34.

17. POSVI^o/DEVM CIVITTS LONDON
 18. POSVI^o/DEVM CIVITTS LONDON
 19. POSVI^o/DEVM^oT/DIVTOR/AM^oMEV α for ϵ in *adiutorem*
 CIVITTS LONDON

Annulet in quarter under LON

20. As 18, with broken α ϵ
 21. POSVI/DEVM MEV^o CIVITTS LONDON $\frac{\alpha}{\epsilon}$
 22. POSVI^o/DEVM MEV LONDON CIVITTS
 23. POSVI^o/DEVM MEV CIVITTS LONDON
 24. As 23, but α ϵ broken.
 25. Another die as 23. CIVITTS LONDON
 26. Another die as 22. LONDON CIVITTS
 27. POSVI^o/DEVM LONDON CIVITTS

Annulet in quarter under DON

28. POSVI^o/DEVM^oT/DIVTOR/AM^oMEV CIVITTS LONDON
 No annulet between M and M $\frac{\alpha}{\epsilon}$
 29. POSVI^o/DEVM^oT/DIVTOR/AM^oMEV CIVITTS LONDON
 ϵ broken. Annulet only before DEVM
 30. POSVI^o/DEVM^oT/ /AM^oMEV CIVITTS LONDON
 31. Similar to 29, normal stops. " "
 α ϵ broken.
 32. POSVI^o/DEVM CIVITTS LONDON
 Large annulet stops.
 33. Another die as 32. Large annulet stops.

No annulet in quarter.

34. Legend normal, no stops. α ϵ broken. CIVITTS LONDON
 35. Another die as 34.

Series G c.

Groats (*cont.*).

Bust as on Series G b.

1. Same die as G b 9.

2. Normal legend.

DhYB

3. Same die as 2.

4. Same die as G b 27.

DhYB α α broken.

5. Same die as 4.

6. Same die as G b 18. hY joined. α α broken.

7. Same die as G b 18. hY joined.

8. Legend normal. Ends DhYB, no stop after REX

9 Same die as 8.

10. Same die as G b 19. EDWTRD Ends D°hYB° α broken.

11. EDWTRD°D°G°REX°THIGL°7°FRTHIG°hY°B D omitted.

12. Same die as G b 19.

13. EDWTRD D G°REX°THIGL°7°FRTHIG°D°hYB

14. Same die as G b 9.

15. Same die as G c 9.

Mules.

Obv. G a.

1. Same die as G a 32, with annulet under bust.

Saltire stops. Saltire in quarter under CIVI

- | | | |
|---|----------------|-------|
| 1. POSVI/*DEVN* π /DIVTOR/ ϵ M* η AV ϵ broken. | CIVITTS LONDON | π |
| 2. Another die as 1, but α ϵ not broken. | " " | " |
| 3. POSVI*/DEVN ϵ broken. | " " | π |

Saltire in quarter under TTS

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------|
| 4. POSVI/*DEVN ϵ broken. | CIVITTS LONDON | π |
| 5. POSVI/DEVN ϵ broken. | " " | π |
| 6. Legend normal, no stops. | " " | π |
| 7. POSVI*/DEVN | " " | π |

Saltire in quarter under LOH

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------|
| 8. POSVI*/DEVN | CIVITTS LONDON | π |
| 9. POSVI/DEVN | " " | π |
| 10. POSVI*/DEVN* π / | " " | π |
| 11. Another die as 8. | " " | π |

Saltire in quarter under DOH

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------|
| 12. POSVI/*DEVN* π / | CIVITTS LONDON | π |
| 13. As 12. | " " | " |

No mark in quarter.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 14. POSVI/*DEVN* π /DIVTOR/ ϵ M η AV VTO altered. | CIVITTS LONDON α and ϵ broken. |
| 15. POSVI/*DEVN* π /DIVTOR/ ϵ M* η AV* α and ϵ broken. | CIVITTS LONDON |

Rev. G c.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. POSVI/*DEVN | CIVITTS LONDON |
| TTS under POSVI π of TTS altered. | π |

Groats (*cont.*).

Obv. G b (the obv. is the same on G b and G c).

1. D^hYB
2. Same die as G b 19.
3. Same die as G b 18.
4. Same die as G b 9.

Series G d.

New bust. Large annulet stops, new letters.

1. Legend normal. D^ohYB No fleur on r. shoulder.
2. Another die. Fleur present.
3. Another die.
4. GDWTD D^ohYB^o
5. Another die as G d 1. D^ohYB
6. Another die as G d 1.
7. Same die as G d 2.

Mule.

Obv. G d.

1. Same die as G d 3.
2. Normal legend where visible. D^ohYB Large annulet stops.

Mules.

Obv. G b or c. Small annulet stops.

1. Same die as G b 9.
2. Same die as G b 9.
3. Same die as G b 9.
4. Same die as G b 18. hY joined.
5. Same die as G b 18.

Rev. G d. With new letters and dot between T·T·S Large annulet stops.

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|------------------|----|
| 1. POSVI/°DEVM | Æ broken. | CIVIT·T·S LONDON | ⊕ |
| 2. POSVI°/ | | " " | ⊕ |
| 3. POSVI°/ | | " " | ⊕ |
| | | DOI altered. | |
| 4. POSVI/°DEVM | Æ broken. | " " | |
| | | DOI | +? |

T·T·S Large annulet stops.

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|---|
| 1. POSVI/°DEVM | Æ broken. | CIVIT·T·S LONDON | ⊕ |
| | | (CIVI under ÆM) | |
| 2. POSVI°/ | | " " | ⊕ |
| 3. POSVI°/DEVM°T/DIVTOR/ÆM·MÆV | | CIVIT·T·S LONDON | |
| | | VTO altered. | ⊕ |
| 4. POSVI/°DEVM | | CIVIT·T·S LONDON | ⊕ |
| 5. POSVI/°DEVM | Æ broken. | " " | |
| | | Nothing in quarter. | |
| 6. Same die as last. | | " " | |
| 7. Legend normal. No stops, no marks. | | Nothing in quarter. | |

Rev. G c.

1. Same die as G c 13.
2. Same die as G c 1.

⊕

Rev. G e or f. Large annulet stops T·T·S

- | | | | |
|--|--|------------------|----|
| 1. POSVI/°DEVM | | CIVIT·T·S LONDON | ⊕ |
| 2. POSVI°/ I altered in CIVI | | | ⊕ |
| 3. POSVI°/ Another die. I normal. | | | ⊕ |
| 4. POSVI°/ Another die. L and O broken in LONDON | | | ⊕? |
| 5. POSVI°/ Another die. No letters broken. | | | ⊕ |

6. Same die as G c 6.
7. Same die as G c 11, with D omitted.
8. Legend and stops normal. A bust of Series G b?
9. Very like 8.

Obv. G d.

1. Legend normal where visible. G broken. Large annulet stops.
Ends DYB
2. Legend normal. Large annulet stops. DhYB

Obv. G e. Large annulet stops, all arches fleured.

1. Legend normal, ending DYB Pellet over top lis of crown.

Obv. G f. No pellet over crown.

1. GDWTD D G RAX T N I G L 7 F R T N I C DYB

Series G e.

Large annulet stops, all arches fleured, pellet over crown.

1. Same die as mule Ge/Gd 1.
2. Another die. No fleur on R shoulder.
3. Same die as G e 2.
4. Same die as G e 1.
5. Another die.
6. Same die as last.

Series G f.

Large annulet stops, no pellet over crown.

1. Same die as mules G f/G d, reading GDWTD No fleurs on
shoulders.
2. Same die as last.
3. Legend and stops normal. Ends DYB
4. Same die as last.
5. GDWTD Similar to 1.

- | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| 6. POSVI°/ | Another die. No letters broken. | CIVIT·T·S
LONDON | ✚ |
| 7. POSVI°/ | V of T·DIVT·OR· altered. | | ✚ |
| 8. POSVI°/ | Q of CIVI altered. | | ✚ |
| 9. POSVI°/ | Another die. No altered letters. | | ✚ |

Rev. G e or f.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|---|
| 1. POSVI°/ | No abnormalities. | CIVIT·T·S LONDON | ✚ |
| 2. Another die. | | | ✚ |

Rev. G d. T·T·S

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--|---|
| 1. Same die as G d 3. | | | ✚ |
| 2. Same die as G d 5. | No annulet in quarter. | | |

T·T·S

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|---|
| 1. POSVI°/ | | CIVIT·T·S LONDON | ✚ |
| 2. POSVI°?/ | A flaw above II of DON | | ✚ |
| 3. POSVI°/ | A flaw at bottom of M of M·EV | | ✚ |
| 4. POSVI°/ | A flaw at base of L of L·ON | | ✚ |
| 5. POSVI°/ | Another die. | | ✚ |
| 6. POSVI°/ | Another die. S of T·T·S overstruck. | | ✚ |

T·T·S as before.

- | | | | |
|------------|----------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. POSVI°/ | | Nothing in quarter. | |
| 2. POSVI°/ | | II of DON broken below. | ✚ |
| 3. POSVI°/ | | Alteration in V of CIVI broken below. | ✚ |
| 4. POSVI°/ | | D of LONDON broken below. | ✚ |
| 5. POSVI°/ | ·D·E·V·M | | ✚ |

Mules.

Groats (*cont.*).*Obv.* G b or c.

1. Same die as G c 11. Ends FRTNICHYB D omitted.

Obv. G d.

1. Same die as G d 4. EDWTD

Obv. G e.

1. Same die as G e 4.

Obv. G f.

1. Same die as G f 5. EDWTD
2. Same die as G f 5.
3. Same die as G f 5.

Obv. G g. Lis or cross on breast. Saltire stops.

1. EDWTRD*D*G*RX*THGL*7*FRTNID*D*hYB All arches
fleured.
2. Normal legend. D*hYB? No fleurs over crown or right shoulder.

Series G g.

Lis or crown on neck, saltire stops, late closed G

1. Same die as mule G g/G f 2. D*hYB
2. Normal legend and stops. DhYB No fleurs over crown or on
r. shoulder.
3. Same die as last.
4. Another die. The fleur of the right shoulder is below it.
5. Normal legend. D*hYB All arches fleured.
6. Same die as last.
7. Another die. D*hYB No fleur on l. shoulder.

Rev. G g. Saltire stops T.T.S

1. POSVI/*DEVM***T**/DIVTOR/**Θ**M***Θ**AV, CIVIT.**T.S** LONDON ⚔

Rev. G g.

1. POSVI/*DEVM Another die. ⚔

Rev. G g.

1. Another die as last. **T** of **T.T.S** altered. ⚔

Rev. G g.

1. Another die.
2. Another die.
3. Another die. **L** and **Θ** of London faulty. ⚔

Rev. G e or f. T.T.S Large annulet stops.

1. POSVI°/ L broken. ⚔
2. Another die. L broken. ⚔

T.T.S Saltire stops, late closed **Θ**

1. POSVI*/DEVM ⚔
2. Another die. ⚔
3. Another die. No annulet in quarter?
4. Same die as last.
5. Same die as G g 1. ⚔
6. Same die as mule G f/G g 3. ⚔
7. Another die. POSVI/*DEVM ⚔

Mules.

Groats (cont.).

Obv. G h. Open €

1. EDWARD*D*G*REX*THGL*7*FRTHQ*D*hYB No fleur on l. shoulder.
2. Another die.
3. Legend normal. Ends D*hYB No fleurs on shoulders, nor in lower arch R
4. Same die as last.
5. Legend and stops as 1.

Series G h.

Open € both sides.

1. Obv. die as mule G h/G g 3.

Half-Groats.

Series G a.

Annulet under bust.

1. EDWARDS*REX*THGL*7*FRTHQ All arches fleured.
2. Similar. FRTHQ N of FRTHQ double-barred.
- 2*. FRTHQ Top arches not fleured.
3. As 1. All arches fleured.
4. As 1. "
5. Same die as 4. "
6. FRTHQ° "
7. Same die as 6. "
8. FRTHQ° "
9. Same die as 8. "
10. Legend normal. FRTHQ No stops. "
11. Legend and stops normal. FRTHQ Top arches not fleured.
12. Another die.
13. Same die as 12.
14. Same die as 12.

Rev. G g. Closed late G

1. POSVI/*DEVN

⚭

2. Another die.

⚭

3. Same die as 1.

4. Another die.

5. POSVI/*DEVN Another die as 1.

⚭

T.T.S

1. POSVI/DEVN*π/DIVTOR/EM*MEV CIVIT-T.S LONDON

⚭

Annulet in quarter under CIVI

1. POSV/I°DEV°π/DIVTO/REM°M CIVITAS LONDON

⚭

2. Another die.

⚭

2*. Same die as 2.

⚭

3. POS/VI°DEV°/°πDIVT/OREM CIVITAS LONDON

⚭

4. POS/VI°DEV°/°πDIVT/OREM°

" "

⚭

5. Legend as 4. No stops.

" "

⚭

6. Same die as 4.

" "

⚭

7. Another die as 4.

" "

⚭

8. POS/VI°DEV°/°πDIVT/OREM LONDON CIVITAS

⚭

9. POS/VI°DEV°/°πDIVT/OREM CIVITAS LONDON

i.m. and O in DON altered.

⚭ ?

10. POS/VI°DEV°/°πDIVT/OREM CIVITAS LONDON

⚭

11. POS/VI°DEV°/°πDIVT/OREM CIVITAS LONDON

⚭

12. POS/VI°DEV°/°πDIVT/OREM

" ° under "V of DEV

⚭

13. Another die as 11.

CIVITAS LONDON

14. Another die as 4.

" "

Half-Groats (*cont.*).

15. Another die.

Top arches not fleured.

16. Same die as 4.

17. Same die as 6.

18. Same die as 8.

19. Legend and stops normal.

20. Same die as 4.

21. Same die as 12.

22. Same die as 12.

23. EDWTRDVS°REX°THGL°7°FRTH°

Mules.

Obv. G a.

Same die as G a 4.

1. Same die as G a 8.

2. Same die as G a 11.

1. Same die as G a 4.

2 Same die as G a 19.

15. POS/VI·DQV/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVITAS LONDON

Q for Q

Annulet in quarter under T·T·S

16. POS/VI·DQV/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVITAS LONDON

⊕

A possible annulet after DQV

Annulet in quarter under LON

17. POS/VI·DQV°/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVITAS LONDON

⊕

Annulet in quarter under DON

18. POS/VI·DQV°/°T·DIVT/ORQW LONDON CIVITAS

⊕

19. T·DIVT/ORQW°

⊕

No annulet in quarter.

20. POS/VI·DQV°/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVITAS LONDON

21. POS°/VI·DQV°/°T·DIVT/ORQW

" "

22. Another die as 20.

23. POS/VIDQV°/°T·DIVT/ORQW° LONDON CIVITAS

Rev. G b.

POS/VIDQV/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVITAS LONDON No stops.

Q Q broken.

Rev. G c. Saltire stops.

1. POS/VI·DQV°/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVITAS LONDON

Q Q broken.

2. POS/VI·DQV/°T·DIVT/ORQW

"

"

Rev. G f. T·T·S Large annulet stops.

1. POS/VI·DQV/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVIT·T·S LONDON

CIVI under VI/

2. POS/VI·DQV/°T·DIVT/ORQW CIVIT·T·S LONDON

3. Same die as G a 23.

4. " "

5. Legend normal. II in TUIGL unbarred? Top arches not fleured

Series G b.

No annulet under bust, top arches not fleured.

1. EDWTRDVS°RAX°TUIGL°7°FRTQI Fleurs missing at sides
of hair.

2. EDWTRDVS°RAX°TUIGL°7°FRTQI Q and Q broken.
No fleur on l. side by hair.

3. EDWTRDVS°RAX°TUIGL°7°FRTQI Q and Q broken.
No fleur on l. side by hair.

4. Same die as last.

5. Same die again.

Mules.

Obv. G b.

1. Same die as G b 2.

2. Same die as G b 2.

3. Same die as last.

4. POS/VI·DEIV·°T·DIVT/OR·EM CIVIT·T·S LONDON

O of OR·EM altered.

5. Another die as last.

CIVIT·T·S LONDON

Annulet in one quarter. Annulet under CIVI

Not known.

Annulet under T·T·S

1. POS/VI·DEIV·°T·DIVT/OR·EM CIVIT·T·S LONDON

Q and E broken. $\frac{1}{16}$

Annulet under LON

Not known.

$\frac{1}{16}$

Annulet under DON

2. POS/VI·DEIV·°T·DIVT/OR·EM CIVIT·T·S LONDON

$\frac{1}{16}$

No annulet in quarter.

3. Legend as last, no stops. Q and E broken. CIVIT·T·S LONDON

4. Another die as last.

5. Another die.

Rev. G c. No mark in quarter. Saltire stops.

1. POS/VI·DEIV·°T·DIT·O/R·EM CIVIT·T·S LONDON Q for E
Q and E broken.

2. POS/VI·DEIV·°T·DIVT/OR·EM

„

„

Rev. G f. Large annulet stops. T·T·S No mark in quarter.

1. POS/VI·DEU/·T·D·I·V·T/·O·R·E·M/·C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON
2. Another die as last. " " "
3. Same die as mule G a/G f 5. " "
4. POS/VI·DEU/T·D·I·V·T/·O·R·E·M " "
5. Another die as 1.
6. Another die as 1.
7. Legend normal, no stops visible. C·I·V·I in second quarter.
8. POS/VI·DEU/·T·D·I·V·T/·O·R·E·M C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON
Second I of C·I·V·I double-punched.
9. Another die as 1.

An annulet in the C·I·V·I quarter except on nos. 1-3 and 5.

1. C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON No annulet in quarter.
2. Another die. No annulet in quarter.
- 2*. " " "
3. Same die as 2. " "
4. C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON †¹⁰
5. C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON A pellet outside the group under C·I·V·I
6. C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON Annulet in quarter under C·I·V·I †¹⁰
7. LONDON †¹⁰
- 7*. LONDON †¹⁰
8. LONDON †¹⁰
9. LONDON †¹⁰
10. LONDON †¹⁰
11. Same die as 10? C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON †¹⁰
12. " " " †¹⁰
13. C·I·V·I·T·T·S LONDON Unbarred II †¹⁰

London Pennies (*cont.*).

14. Same die as 7?
15. Another die as 5.

16. Another die as 5.

17. EDWTRDVS·RAX ·· HGLI·7 α for θ in RAX

Series G b.

No annulet under bust.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI·7
2. Same die as 1.

Uncertain (possibly G b).

1. Same legend and stops, but a different bust.
2. EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI
3. Same die as last.

Mules.

Obv. E.

EDWTRDVS·RAX·.... θ broken below.

Obv. F. i. m. crown.

EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI

Obv. G c. With saltire stops.

EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI

Obv. G b?

EDWTRDVS RAX THGLI No stops.

Annulet in quarter under TTS
Not known.

Annulet in quarter under LOII

14. CIVITAS LONDON

†

15. Another die as 14.

†

Annulet in quarter under DOII

16. CIVITAS LONDON

†

17. CIVITAS LONDON T over S and therefore apparently
barred.

†

Annulet in quarter under CIVI

1. CIVITAS LONDON

†

2. Different die.

†

1. CIVITAS LONDON Annulet between pellets in all quarters.

2. CIVITAS LONDON No annulet in quarter.

3. CIVITAS LONDON A broken.

Rev. G a.

CIVITAS LONDON Annulet in quarter under CIVI

†

Rev. G b.

CIVITAS LONDON A broken. No annulet in quarter.

Rev. G a. H barred reversely, annulet under CIVI
CIVITAS LONDON

†

Rev. G c.

CIVITAS LONDON * between the pellets under TTS

†

Series G c.

London Pennies (*cont.*).

Saltire stops.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI
2. Another die.
3. Another die.
4. Another die.

5. Same die as 2.

Mule.

Obv. G c.

EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI

Series G d, G e, G f.

Not known of London.

Mules.

Obv. G f. Large annulet stops.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI·7
2. Another die.
3. Another die.

York Pennies.

The royal mint shut down in May 1355 during the issue of Series E. There are no coins of Series F, and the archiepiscopal mint seems only to have opened when the new coinage of Series G was introduced. Pennies only were struck, and they all have the archbishop's mark, a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse.

No stops, saltire in one quarter.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. CIVITTS LONDON | Q broken, * in quarter under CIVI | † ^x |
| 2. CIVITTS LONDON | Q? | † ^x |
| 3. CIVITTS LONDON | Q not broken, * in quarter under TTS | † ^x |
| 4. Another die, as 3. | | † ^x |

* in quarter under LON
Unknown.

* in quarter under DON
Unknown.

5. CIVITTS LONDON No * in quarter.

Rev. G f. Stops not visible.

CIVIT·T·S LONDON

Rev. G g. Saltire stops. T·T·S

1. CIVIT·T·S·LONDON
2. Same die as 1.
3. Another die.

Series G a.

York Pennies (*cont.*).

EDWTRDVS·RÆX·TIIGLI Small annulet stops.

Series G b, G c not identified.

Series G d.

1. EDWTRDVS·RÆX·TIIGLI·7 Annulet on bust, large annulet stops.
2. Same die.
3. Another die.
4. „
5. EDWTRDVS·RÆX·TIIGLI·7 Large annulet stops, no annulet on breast.

Series G f.

As last.

There are many dies of this description. Some omit the 7 on the obverse, some have a small cross in the centre of the quatrefoil.

Series G g.

1. EDWTRDVS·RÆX·TIIGLI·7 Saltire stops, saltire on breast.
2. Same legend and stops where visible, saltire on breast.
3. Same die as 2.

Mule.

Obv. G g.

Same legend and stops.

Uncertain Coins.

- (a) Coins resembling the obverse of Series G d with nothing between the letters of TIS
- (b) Coins of local work on the obverse with unusual busts.

CIVITAS EBORACI Quatrefoil enclosing pellet in centre, no
mark in quarter.

1. CIVITAS EBORACI Quatrefoil enclosing pellet.
2. Uncertain.
3. „
4. „
5. CIVITAS EBORACI

CIVITAS EBORACI

1. CIVITAS EBORACI Quatrefoil enclosing cross.
2. TTS uncertain „ „
3. TTS not visible. „ „

Rev. G h. Open €

CIVITAS EBOR... Quatrefoil with pellet.

BM.

Durham Pennies.

Mule.

Obv. G a.

+GDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI·7 Annulet on breast.

Series G a.

1. GDWTRDVS·RAX·THG..... Annulet on breast.
2. GDWTRDVS·RAX... GLI·7 " "
3. GDWTRDVS·RAX ·T... GLI·7 " "
4. As 3 where visible.
5. Same legend where visible. Stops? Annulet on breast, bust of
local work?
6. GDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI·7 Annulet on breast.
7. Another die? as 6.
8. Same legend. Bust of rough work as on Series E and F, annulet
on breast?

Series G b?

1. GDWTRDVS RAX·THGLI Small annulet stops where visible.
2. As 1 where visible.
3. As 1.

Series G c.

1. GDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI·7 G broken.
2. Same die as 1.
3. "
4. GDWTRDVS·R.....

Mule.

Obv. G d.

1. GDWTRDVS·RAX·THGLI... Large annulet stops.
2. GDWTRDVS·RA... GLI·7 " "

Rev. F.

ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ° Crozier r. before QIVI and annulet
either side of DVRÆIIÆ

1. ƒQIVITTS·DVR··Æ Annulet in quarter under QIVI +
2. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ " " " +
3. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ° No annulet in quarter.
4. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ " "
5. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ " "
6. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ Æ for V No annulet in quarter.
7. Same die as 6.
8. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ No annulet in quarter.

1. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ No marks.
2. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ°
3. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ R for S

1. ƒQIVITTS·DVRÆIIÆ Q and Æ broken, nothing in quarter.
2. ƒQIVITTS·L?ORÆIIÆ " " "
3. Same die as 2?
4. ƒQIVITTS·DVR... Saltire in quarter under TTS +

Rev. G c?

1. ƒQIVITTS·DV.... Nothing in quarter.
2. As last, where visible.

Series G d.

Durham Pennies (*cont.*).

EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 Large annulet stops. ♂ broken below.

Series G*. Variety after d and before f, not found at London but agreeing with York (Uncertain group).

1. EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 Large annulet stops.
2. As 1.

Series G**. Another variety of Durham only.

EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 Large annulet stops, a large annulet on each shoulder.

Mule.

Obv. G**.

Obv. as G** with annulets on shoulders.

Series G f?

EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 Annulet stops.

Series G g.

1. EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 Late closed ♂
2. EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·
3. EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7
4. EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 A trefoil of pellets on breast.

Mule.

Obv. G h. Open ♂

1. EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7
2. Same die as 1.

Mule.

Obv. G g. Late closed ♂

1. EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 A narrow bust.
2. " " " A broader bust.

Series G h.

Open ♂

EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI·7 Possibly 2 saltires after REX

ƆAIVITTS DVRΘMΘ A Θ broken below, nothing in quarter.
Several dies.

1. ƆAIVITTS DVRΘMΘ No pellets between TTTS
2. ƆAIVITTS DVRΘMΘ " " Pellet before D

ƆAIVITTS DVRΘMΘ Nothing in quarter.

Rev. G f.

ƆAIVIT·T·S DVRΘMΘ Pellets between the letters T·T·S

ƆAIVIT·T·S DVRΘMΘ Pellets between the letters T·T·S

1. ƆAIVIT·T·S DVRΘMΘ Late closed Θ T·T·S
2. As last.
3. As last.
4. As last.

Rev. G g. Late closed Θ

1. As rev. of Series G g no. 1.
2. Similar.

Rev. G h. Open €

1. ƆAIVITTS DVRELΘMΘ No pellets between the letters TTTS
2. Another die.

ƆAIVITTS DVRELΘMΘ No pellets between the letters TTTS

TRANSITIONAL SERIES.

(October 1360—April 1361 ?)

Nobles.

	Die 58 of Series G	Ordinary Lettering					Mixed Lettering										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ordinary Lettering	Die B J of Series G	..	..	BM	BM	..	..	..	LAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Transitional Ca	..	..	..	..	..	..	BM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Cb	BM	BM	..	..	..	..	..	..	BM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Cc	..	..	..	..	LAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Cd	..	..	..	..	LAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed Lettering	Ce	..	..	..	..	..	BM	BM	..	..	..	..	..	BM	..	..	..
	Cf	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	BM	LAL	..	..	..	LAL	..
	Cg	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Ch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	LAL	..	..	..	BM	..	..	BM

TRANSITIONAL SERIES.

(October 1360—April 1361?)

Obverses of Nobles.

Ca. *E/DWTRD:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGLIE:7:TQVTT:DUS...

Cb. E/DWTRDVS:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGL:DNS:hYB

Cc. E/DWTRD:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGL:DNS:hIB:7:T

Cd. E/DWTRDVS:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGLIE:7:TQVTT:D:E

Ce. *E/DWTRD:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGL:DNS:hIB:7:TQ-Q
Large h and ICf. E/DWTRD:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGL:DNS:hIB:7:TQQ
Large h, I, and NCg. E/DWTRD:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGL:DNS:hIB:7:TQQ:
Large h, I, and NCh. E/DWTRD:DEI:GRT:RDX:TNGL:DNS:hIB:7:TQQ:
Large h, I, and N

Ropes: 3-1 on Ca, 3-2 on Cb, 3-3 on the remainder.

Fleurs-de-lis in French arms number 3 on Cb and Ce, 4 on Cd,
5 on the remainder.Fleurs-de-lis on ship are 1-2-2-1 (with lions between) except on Ca,
which has lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, and on Cc which has
1-1-1-1? (with lions between).The quatrefoils in stern and fore castles number 4 (stern) and 3 (fore)
except on Ca which has 3 at either end.

Ca has no bowsprit.

Reverses of Nobles.

1. +IHQ:TVTEM:PAR:MADIVM:ILLORVM:IBTT:
(*Transiens* omitted)
 2. +IHQ:TVTEM:PAR:MADIVM:ILLORVM:IBTT
 3. +IHQ:TVTE:TRNSIENS:P:MADIVM:ILLORR:IBTT
 4. Another die similar to no. 3.
 5. +IHQ:TVTEM:TRNSIENS:P:MADIVM:ILLORR:IBTT
 6. +IHQ:TVTE:TRNSIENS:PAR:MADV:M:ILLORR:IBTT
Large h, I, and P
 7. +IHQ:TVTEM:TRNDIENS:P:MADIVM:ILLORR:IBTT
Large h, I, and P
 8. +IHQ:TVTEM:TRNSIENS:PAR:MAD:ILLORR:IBTT
Large h, I, and P
 9. +IHQ:TVTEM:TRNDIENS:P:MADIVM:ILLORR:IBTT
Large h, I, and P
 10. " " P: "
 Large h, I, and P
- (Note.—This die is used with obverses Cd and Cg; in the latter use the annulets at the corners of the central panel have broken down into large pellets.)
11. +IHQ:TVTEM:TRNDIENS:P:MADIVM:ILLORR:IBTT
Large h, I, and P
 12. TVTEM:
Large h, I, and P
 13. MADIVM: IBTT:
Large h, I, and P
 14. MADIVM:ILLORR:IBTT
Large h, I, and P
 15. TRNDIENS:P:MADIVM:ILLORR:
Large h, I, and P
 16. IHQ: TRNDIENS:P:MADIVM:
Large h, I, and P

Nos. 1 and 2 have trefoils formed of three pellets in the spandrels; the remainder have trefoils of three leaves.

Nos. 1 to 9 have an annulet at each angle of the central panel.

No. 10 is used in two conditions, with annulets and with large pellets in these positions.

Nos. 11 to 16 have a large pellet at each angle.

There is a fleur-de-lis in the upper right quarter of each reverse; on dies Nos. 9 and 10 it is struck over the lower band of the crown.

Obverses of Half-Nobles.

- a. $\Theta/\text{DWTRDV}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}/\text{TNG}\ddot{\text{L}}\text{D}'$ Annulet over crown.
- b. $\Theta/\text{DWTRDI}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}/\text{TNG}\ddot{\text{L}}\text{D}'$ " "
- c. $\Theta/\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RT}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TNG}\ddot{\text{L}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hIB}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{7T}\ddot{\text{A}}\text{Q}'$
- d. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RT}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{R}\ddot{\text{A}}/\text{X}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TNG}$
- e. $\Theta/\text{DWTRDV}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{G}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{RAX}/\text{TNG}\ddot{\text{L}}\text{D}'$
- f. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{T}/\text{NGL}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hB}$ Large h and I
- g. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{T}\ddot{\text{N}}/\text{GL}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hB}$ "
- h. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{T}\ddot{\text{N}}/\text{GL}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hB}$ "
- i. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{T}\ddot{\text{N}}/\text{GL}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hB}$ "
- k. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{T}\ddot{\text{N}}/\text{GL}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hB}$ "
- l. Similar, different die. "
- m. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TNG}/\text{L}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hB}$ "
- n. Similar, different die. "
- o. Similar, different die. "
- p. $\Theta/\text{DWTRD}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{DAI}\ddot{\text{G}}\text{RAX}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TNG}\ddot{\text{L}}\text{D}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{hB}$ "

Ropes: 3-2 on a, b, e, f; 2-3 on d; 3-3 on the remainder.

Fleurs-de-lis in French arms: 4 on h and i; 3 on the remainder.

Fleurs-de-lis on ship are always 1-1-1-1 (with lions between);

a, c, e omit the last fleur, f the first and last.

The quatrefoils in stern and forecastles number 3 (stern) and 3 (fore) on a, c, d, h, p; 4 and 3 on b, f, g, k, l, m, o; 4 and 4 on e and n; 5 and 3 on i. In c and p the stern-castle does not cut the legend.

There is no bowsprit on reverses b to e inclusive.

Reverses of Half-Nobles.

1. $+\text{DOMINA}\ddot{\text{N}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{M}}\ddot{\text{F}}\text{VRORA}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TVO}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TRGVTS}\ddot{\text{M}}\ddot{\text{A}}$ ($\ddot{\text{M}}\ddot{\text{A}}$ con-joined)
2. $+\text{DOMINA}\ddot{\text{N}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{M}}\ddot{\text{F}}\text{VRORA}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TVO}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TRGVTS}\ddot{\text{M}}$
3. $+\text{DOMINA}\ddot{\text{N}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{M}}\ddot{\text{F}}\text{VRORA}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TVO}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TRGVTS}\ddot{\text{M}}$
4. $+\text{DOMINA}\ddot{\text{N}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{M}}\ddot{\text{F}}\text{VRORA}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TVO}\ddot{\text{S}}\text{TRGVTS}\ddot{\text{M}}\ddot{\text{A}}$

5.		TRGVTS	
6.	+DOMINE:IN:FVRORE:TVO:TRGVTS:MΘ		Large F and I
7.	Similar, different die.		"
8.		TRGVTS	"
9.		TRGVTS	"
10.		TRGVTS	"
11.	+DOMINE:IN:	TRGVTS:M'	"
12.	*IN*	*TVO:TRGVTVS:MΘ*	"
13.		*TVO:TRGVTS:MΘ	"
14.		*TVO TRGVTS:MΘ	"
15.		*TVO*TRGVTS*MΘ*	"
16.		*TVO*TRGVTS*MΘ	"
17.	Similar, different die.		"
18.	" "		"
19.		*TVO*TRGVTS*MΘ	"
20.	Similar, different die.		"
21.	" "		"

Nos. 1-3 have trefoils formed of three pellets in the spandrels, the remainder have trefoils of three leaves.

All except Nos. 17-21 have annulets at the angles of the central compartments; Nos. 17-21 inclusive have large pellets.

No. 1 has a lis in the lower left quarter, Nos. 2-12 and 16-18 in upper right quarter, Nos. 13-15 and 19-21 have no lis in any quarter.

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|---------------|
| 11, 12, 13. | *M*GLORIT | Large I |
| 14, 15. | *IN | Large I and N |
| 16. | +EXTLTBITVR*IN*GLORIT* | „ |
| 17. | IN*GLORIT* | Large I |
| 18. | IN*GLORIT | Large I and N |

In each spandrel of the tressure there is a trefoil on dies 1-4 inclusive, and a pellet on the remaining dies. In the centre the designs are: on 1 a large Θ in a panel with pellets at the angles; on 2 a voided quatrefoil in the centre of a small cross potent with annulets in its angles; on 3 a large pellet (erasing a small Θ ?) in a panel with annulets at the angles; on the remainder a small cross potent with annulets (4-12) or large pellets (13-18) in the angles and in the centre.

Groats.

An annulet replaces the fleur on each arch at the sides of the crown.

1. +EDWTRD:DEI:G:RAX:TNGL:DNS:hIB:7:TCQ
Top arches not fleured.
2. Similar, with large h and I TCQ' for TCQ
3. Similar to No. 1.
4. Similar to Nos. 1 and 3, hIBN:; arches fleured above the crown.
5. Same die as No. 4.
6. Similar to preceding, different die.

Half-groats.

There are seven arches to the tressure on obverse, the two cusps beside the crown have annulets, the remainder fleurs.

1. +EDWTRD:RAX:TNGLI:DNS:hIB' Large I
2. Same die.
3. Similar, different die.
4. Same die as No. 3.
5. Similar, but DNS:
6. Same die as No. 5.
7. Same die as No. 3.

Pennies.

An annulet in the two upper quarters of the initial cross.
h and I are large throughout.

London.

+EDWTRD:TNGLI:DNS:hIB' Five different dies noted.

York.

+EDWTRD:TNGLI:DNS:hIB Several dies noted.

Durham.

+EDWTRD:TNGLI:DNS:hIB

1. +POSVI*/DEVM*TI/DIVTOR/EM*MEV CIVITTS LONDON
Large I and P LAL.
2. Similar. LAL.
3. Similar. FAW.
4. Similar, different die. LAL.
5. Similar, but EM*V LAL.
6. Similar to Nos. 3 and 4. BM.

1. +POS/VI*DEV/*TIDIVT/ORAM/CIVI/TTS/LON/DOR/
Large I and P LAL.
2. Similar, different die, BM.
3. Similar, different die. BM.
4. Similar. LAL.
5. Similar to Nos. 1-3. LAL.
6. „ BM.
7. Same die as No. 6. FAW.

CIVI TTS LONDON

CIVITTS EBORTOI Pellet in quatrefoil in centre.

†CIVITTS DORELME

LIST OF COINS ILLUSTRATED.

[The letters and numbers at the end of each description refer to dies described above.]

Plate XI (VII).

- No. 1. Noble, Series G a. AU/3.
- No. 2. Noble, Series G a/G b. AV/13.
- No. 3. Noble, Series G b or c. BC/17.
- No. 4. Noble, Series G d. BG/22.
- No. 5. Noble, Series G g. BJ/61.
- No. 6. Noble, Series G f/Gg. BP/57.

Plate XII (VIII).

- No. 1. Half-noble, *obv.* Series G a or G b, *rev.* G a to G c. No. 1 in list.
- No. 2. Half-noble, same *obv.*, *rev.* probably G c. No. 5 in list.
- No. 3. Half-noble, same *obv.*, *rev.* G g. No. 6 in list.
- No. 4. Half-noble, *obv.* Series G h, *rev.* G h. No. 16 in list.
- No. 5. Quarter-noble, *obv.* Series G a, *rev.* G d. No. 1 in list.
- No. 6. Quarter-noble, Series G, late sub-group. No. 3 in list.
- No. 7. Quarter-noble, Series G, late sub-group. No. 7 in list.
- No. 8. Noble, *obv.* Transitional, *rev.* G g. Ca/58.

Plate XIII (IX).

- No. 1. Groat, Series G a. No. 1 in list.
- No. 2. Groat, Series G a. No. 11 in list.
- No. 3. Groat, Series G a. No. 18 in list.
- No. 4. Groat, Series G a. No. 38 in list.
- No. 5. Groat, Series G b. No. 5 in list.
- No. 6. Groat, Series G b. No. 11 in list.
- No. 7. Groat, Series G c. No. 5 in list.
- No. 8. Groat, Series G d. No. 1 in list.
- No. 9. Groat, Series G d. No. 6 in list.

Plate XIV (X).

- No. 1. Groat, Series G e. No. 6 in list.
- No. 2. Groat, Series G f. No. 1 in list.
- No. 3. Groat, Series G g. No. 7 in list.
- No. 4. Groat, Series G h. No. 1 in list.
- No. 5. Half-groat, Series G a. No. 4 in list.
- No. 6. Half-groat, Series G a. No. 21 in list.
- No. 7. Half-groat, Series G a/G c. No. 1 in list.
- No. 8. Half-groat, Series G b. No. 1 in list (*rev.*; the obverse illustrated is No. 9).
- No. 9. Half-groat, Series G b. No. 4 in list.
- No. 10. Half-groat, Series G b/G c. No. 2 in list.
- No. 11. Half-groat, Series G b/G f. No. 1 in list.

Plate XV (XI).

- No. 1. Penny, Series G a. London. No. 2 in list.
- No. 2. Penny, Series G a. London. No. 5 in list.
- No. 3. Penny, Series G a. London. No. 11 in list.
- No. 4. Penny, Series G b. London. No. 1 in list.
- No. 5. Penny, Series G c/G a. London.
- No. 6. Penny, Series G c. London. No. 1 in list.
- No. 7. Penny, Series G c. London. No. 5 in list.
- No. 8. Penny, Series G f/G g. London. No. 1 in list.
- No. 9. Penny, Series G a. Durham. No. 2 in list.
- No. 10. Penny, Series G c. Durham. No. 1 in list.
- No. 11. Penny, Series G c. Durham. No. 4 in list.
- No. 12. Penny, Series G d. Durham. No. 1 in list.
- No. 13. Penny, Series G** Durham. No. 1 in list.
- No. 14. Penny, a coin of doubtful class. Durham.
- No. 15. Penny, Series G a. York. No. 1 in list.
- No. 16. Penny, Series G d. York. No. 1 in list.
- No. 17. Penny, Series G g/G h. York.
- No. 18. Penny, local work. York.

Plate XVI (XII).

- No. 1. Noble, mule, *obv.* Series G, die BJ, *rev.* 9.
- No. 2. Half-noble, transitional, a/3.
- No. 3. Noble, transitional, Ch/10.
- No. 4. Quarter-noble, transitional, d/3.
- No. 5. Quarter-noble, transitional, a/4.

174 THE COINAGE OF EDWARD III FROM 1351.

- No. 6. Groat. No. 2 in list.
No. 7. Groat. No. 4 in list.
No. 8. Half-groat. No. 3 in list.
No. 9. Penny. London.
No. 10. Penny. Durham.
No. 11. Penny. York.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

MISCELLANEA.

COINS FROM A SITE-FIND IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

In 1912 Captain C. W. Haywood found in the neighbourhood of Port Durnford, some 300 miles north of Mombasa, a walled-in fortress, enclosing about five acres of ground. He caused his native servants to dig over the top-soil in places and was rewarded with the discovery of the following copper coins (C = Cohen, *Monn.* . . . *Emp. Rom.*):

Ptolemaic 17. Ptolemy III 6; Ptolemy IV 3; Ptolemy V 3; uncertain (3rd-1st century) 5.

Alexandria in Roman times 6. Nero 1; Trajan 1; Hadrian 2; Antoninus Pius 1; uncertain (1st-2nd century A.D.) 1.

Roman 4th century 46. Maximin II 2, as C. 87 (Alexandria); Licinius I 1, as C. 56 (Alexandria); Constantine I 10, as C. 244 (5:—Alexandria 2, Antioch 1, Constantinople 1, uncertain 1); 519 (2:—Rome 1, uncertain 1); 716 (2 Alexandria); 760 (1 Alexandria).

Constantinopolis 2. C. 4 (uncertain); 20 (Alexandria).

Uncertain GLORIA EXERCITVS 1 (one standard).

Constantine II 3. As C. 113 (2:—Cyzicus 1, Nicomedia 1); 122 (1 uncertain).

Constantius II 15. As C. 44 (2 uncertain); 93 (7:—Antioch 1, Constantinople 1, Nicomedia 1, Thessalonica 3, uncertain 1); 182 (1 Thessalonica); 293 (1 uncertain); 335 (4:—Alexandria 2, Constantinople 1, uncertain 1).

Constans 12. As C. 46 (2:—Alexandria 1, Constantinople 1); 54 (1 Nicomedia); 69 (1 uncertain); 176 (4:—Rome 2, Thessalonica 1, uncertain 1); 197 (4:—Constantinople 1, uncertain 3).

Mamelukes of Egypt 6.

Egypt under Turks 7 (17th-18th century).

Uncertain Coin Weights 1.

H. M.

REVIEW.

English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day.
By George C. Brooke. Pp. ix+277; 64 collotype
plates. Methuen & Co., Ltd., *Handbooks of Archaeo-*
logy. 1932. 22s. 6d.

This notable work is the latest issued of Methuen's *Handbooks of Archaeology* and is one that all persons interested in the fascinating study of numismatics should possess. It is, in effect, a summary of what is known of the coinage in England from the seventh century to the present day and comprises in its 277 crown octavo pages and 64 very excellent plates a vast fund of useful knowledge. Its price, 22s. 6d., is very moderate, having regard to the present high charges for printing and for the production of plates. To this point we have only accorded to the book and its author the praise that is their due, but no review would be complete without some criticism. In the preface the author explains the abbreviation "i. m." (initial mark) as the cross or other symbol which is placed at the *beginning* (the italics are ours) of either legend. He adds, "It used to be called the mint-mark, but that term is misleading". Possibly, but not so much so as the new term he suggests. The symbol so long known as the mint-mark is very frequently placed at the *end* of the legend and, not infrequently, is placed between words of the obverse and reverse legend. Perhaps "main-mark" or "principal mark" would meet the case and "subsidiary mark" for the various minor marks and variations that for different reasons appear from time to time on the successive issues of early coins. Then there are some errors that must be as obvious to the author as to any well-informed reader. For example, the use, thrice, on p. 128 of the word *Dux*, instead of *Dominus*; but such obvious lapses will doubtless be put right when a second edition of the book appears. We think that the usefulness of the work would be much enhanced if tables of the coins of each reign, giving their mint-marks or other privy marks in chronological sequence, with crosses indicating the varieties known still to exist, were added to the letter-press. Tables of this kind appear in Hawkins and in Kenyon, but they require numerous additions to bring them up to date. These, however, are minor matters, and we whole-heartedly recommend the book both to numismatologists of old standing and to those desirous of acquiring knowledge of an interesting and historically important branch of archaeology.

P. C. B.

VIII.

THE COINAGE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS TIMES. MINTS AND CHRONOLOGY.

[SEE PLATES XIII-XV.]

AFTER the Roman world had enjoyed peace and tranquillity for over a century, the death of Commodus on the first day of A.D. 193 plunged it into troubles as severe as those that had followed the death of Nero in A.D. 68. There is a remarkable similarity between the two occasions. In each case an unworthy Emperor was at last removed from office by the defection of his friends in Rome; in each case the provinces insisted, though with no single voice, on having a say in the succession. In A.D. 68 the provincial unrest actually preceded the death of Nero, whereas in A.D. 193 it only showed itself after the death of Commodus. But in both cases the succession was brought into dispute and a decision was only gained after trials of strength between the armies of the provinces.

Yet history never repeats itself without some variation of the theme. Vespasian, victor in A.D. 69, proved himself in most essential points a Roman conservative, and worked steadily to obliterate the effects of the Civil Wars. Septimius Severus, victor in A.D. 194 and 196 over Niger and Albinus, made no secret of his distaste for many existing institutions. In his brusque treatment of the Senate, in his subservience to his army, in his interest in the provinces rather than in Rome, Septimius was opening up new tracks into the

future. We shall find a similar contrast in the coinages of the two periods. Vespasian gradually worked back from the provincial mints of the Civil Wars to the supremacy of the one imperial mint of Rome. Septimius, though he made no definite reform in the system, set an example of coining for war purposes at his Eastern mints which was never forgotten. From his reign onwards an imperial mint in Syria was never for long closed. When Gordian III opened the mint of Viminacium for the Danube wars, the way led direct to the mint-system of Gallienus; and from that to the fully developed system of provincial mints under Diocletian is only a step or two further.

The East. No sooner had Septimius Severus ousted Didius Julianus from the throne than he was forced to turn eastward to confront his more serious rival, Pescennius Niger, the governor of Syria, while Albinus in Gaul was contented with the title of Caesar. Niger, according to the better accounts, was an able man and did not lack strong backing. The leadership on his side, however, seems to have been much inferior to that on the side of Severus. Byzantium was beleaguered, and Niger's armies were beaten at Cyzicus, at Nicaea, and finally at Issus. The last defeat was decisive: Niger had no recourse left but flight, and was overtaken and executed as he fled to Parthia.

Pescennius Niger has a considerable coinage of denarii, with a few very rare aurei, of the mint of Antioch; comparison of style with the rare tetradrachm, with the legend ΤΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ , is decisive.¹ The

¹ Cp. Cohen in *R.N.*, 1868, pp. 432 ff., discussing chiefly the Eastern coinages of Niger.

limits of dates for his coins are March 193 and autumn to winter 194. The title, **COS•II**, which occurs on part of the coinage only, should mark off the coinage of A.D. 194, when Pescennius must have assumed the consulship for the second time at Antioch. The silver of his coins is apparently rather poor and the surface often curiously filmy; Eastern forms of letters (such as **F** for **F**) are not uncommon. The portraiture is occasionally grotesque, but sometimes conveys an impression of life [Pl. XIII. 1, 2].

While adopting the normal imperial titles of "Imperator", "Caesar", and "Augustus", Niger added a cognomen of his own choosing, "Iustus", "the Just". This claim to stand or fall by his moral fairness and integrity gives us the impression of a stern, but honourable nature; and indeed the Romans, we hear, would have preferred Niger to Severus, had they had the choice.

The types of Niger are sufficiently far from the normal Roman to be interesting, even though they have little direct reference to the war. *Bona Spes* and *Bonus Eventus* promise success in the great adventure, *Victoria* [Pl. XIII. 2 *rev.*] and *Virtus Augusti* are the sureties of victory, a dedication to *Salus Augusta* looks beyond the Emperor's perils to his triumph.

The trophy ("Invicto Imp. Tropaea") may commemorate a preliminary success won near Byzantium over Cilo, the legate of Severus. The choice of deities to be invoked is interesting—*Apollo Sanctus*, *Ceres Frugifera*, *Jupiter Conservator* or *Praeses Orbis*, *Mars Victor*, *Minerva Victrix*, and *Roma Aeterna*. A number of these are familiar enough on Roman types. But *Apollo Sanctus* seems to be the object of a special

Syrian cult,² and Jupiter Praeses Orbis seems to be conceived of as a Syrian Baal or Lord. Fortuna Redux is invoked to bring back the Emperor from the battle-field. Here in Syria she is more lavishly supplied with attributes than at Rome; apart from her own proper rudder, she has the corn-ears of Annona, the branch of Pax, and the caduceus of Felicitas.³ She is a sort of universal goddess, an Isis, in fact. The "Justice" of Augustus is represented with the attributes of Aequitas. The capricorns supporting a globe (with legend "Iusti Aug.") represent, it appears, the natal sign of Pescennius⁴ or perhaps rather his claim to stand in the tradition of Augustus [Pl. XIII. 1 rev.]. "Aeternitas Augusti", expressed by crescent and stars, promises him length of days. "Moneta Augusti" is the spirit of the imperial mint, "Pietas Augusti" the Emperor's devotion to religion. "Felicitas Temporum" (crossed cornuacopiae) and "Saeculi Felicitas" (crescent and stars) promise the Golden Age of happiness and prosperity as the fruit of the new reign.

Septimius Severus was not slow to follow with Eastern issues of his own—the product of three, if not more, distinct mints:—

(1) A mint, striking silver and rare gold [Pl. XIII. 4] for Severus, rare silver for Julia Domna, but no coins at all for Caracalla or Geta. The latest coin of this mint as yet noted bears the date TR•P•III, A.D. 195–6.

² Cp. the little copper coins of the fourth century (Julian II?) with types, APOLLINI SANCTO and GENIO ANTIOCHENI.

³ See also p. 185 below.

⁴ Cp. the well-known sestertius of Tiberius, struck for Divus Augustus, B.M.C. *Empire* I, p. 136, nos. 109 ff.

The obverse legend of Severus is IMP·CAE·L·SEP·SEV·PERT·AVG, and among the reverses are Apollo Augustus, Aequitas II [Pl. XIII. 3], Fides Legionum, Moneta II, Romae Aeternae, and Victoria Augusti. The portrait of Severus is longer and larger than that of Rome, the lettering is bold and regular, the figures on the reverse are notably large and bear correspondingly large attributes. The mint of these coins has been sought in Pannonia, and the coinage has been regarded as the first of the reign.⁵ Laffranchi's attribution to Alexandria⁶ is, however, unquestionably correct. There is something very like identity of style between these coins and the Alexandrian potin. (Cf. Pl. XIII. 3, 4, 6—Severus; 5, 7, 8—Domna.) The Dikaioisynē ("Aequitas" or "Moneta") type on Alexandrian billon of Severus corresponds exactly to the AEQVITAS II and MONETA II of his denarii; the numeral II may actually indicate the second mint after the Roman.⁷ The meaning of the 99⁸ in the exergue of an aureus of Julia Domna [Pl. XIII. 8] in the British Museum awaits explanation; the suggestion that it represents "Provincia Pannonia" falls with the attribution to a Pannonian mint.⁹

(2) A mint, striking mainly in silver for Septimius

⁵ Alföldy in *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 1923, pp. 10 f.

⁶ Cp. 'L'XI anno imperatorio di Constantino' (*Atti della Pont. Accademia Rom. d'Archeologia*, 1921, pp. 413-426).

⁷ Alföldy (loc. cit.) wishes to apply the II to COS., either understood or following the II: the view in the text is that of Mowat, *N.Z.*, 1909, pp. 87 ff.

⁸ Is 'p(atrimonium) p(rivatium)' a possible interpretation? Egypt was the personal property of the Emperors, as successors of the Ptolemies.

⁹ A 'nummularius provinciae Pannoniae superioris' (C.I.L. III. 4035, A.D. 207) does not necessarily imply a mint.

Severus with obv. legends, **L•SEPT•SEV•PERT•AVG•IMP•I** (II, V, VII, VIII).¹⁰ Gold of Severus is rare; there are no coins of Caracalla or Geta: coins of Julia Domna of this mint, if they exist, are not yet clearly distinguished from those of mint (3). [See Pl. XIII. 9, 10.]

(3) A mint, striking mainly in silver for Septimius Severus with obv. legend, **IMP•CAE•L•SEPT•SEV•PERT•AVG•COS•II** (rarely **COS•** or **COS•I**). Once again there are rare aurei of Severus, but no coins at all of Caracalla or Geta. Julia Domna has an issue of silver, which is perhaps to be divided over this mint and mint (2). [Cp. Pl. XIV. 1-4.]

These two mints are similar in style, and easy to confuse. Both prefer small dies and a rather small and fine workmanship. Mint (3), however, is neater and more highly finished than (2), and the difference in style is confirmed by the difference of the obverse legends of Severus. Both mints belong to Syria or some neighbouring province, but neither shows identity of style with Antioch, as represented by coins of Niger. Mint (2), which has obverse titles parallel to the Roman and, as we shall see, continues later than mint (3), seems to be the more important and may be assigned with strong probability to Laodicea ad Mare (cp. Pl. XIII. 12, a copper coin of Laodicea, with Pl. XIII. 9-11), which had favoured Septimius and, as a reward, was made capital of Syria in place of Antioch. The site of mint (3) is probably Emesa, the seat of the priestly dynasty to which Julia Domna belonged.

¹⁰ The readings, **IMP•I** and **COS•I** (see below) are rather doubtful: possibly **IMP•II** and **COS•II** are always meant.

The absence of any coins of Emesa¹¹ of the early part of the reign makes it hard to test the attribution. But tetradrachms of Severus (A.D. 202 on, COS•III), with eagle as type, and star as symbol,¹² make a good succession to this class of silver; and this symbol, star, is probably the distinctive mark of Emesa, as seen on tetradrachms of Elagabalus and on silver of his dynasty at Rome. The star evidently represents the chief of the stars, the sun. The earliest coins, on flans of moderate size, are sometimes, it appears, overstruck on coins of Niger. The face of Severus is long and narrow. Then follow smaller dies, but with the same portrait, then a neater and smaller portrait. At both these mints Eastern forms of letters such as **Є, Ƒ, P** for **E, F, R**, occur.¹³

Some evidence for a fourth Eastern mint may be seen in the following denarius, now in B. M.:

Obv. L•SEPT•SEV•PERT•AVG•IMP•IIII, head, laureate, r.
Rev. P•M•TR•P•II COS•II P•P, Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and sceptre [Pl. XIV. 5].

The style seems to be definitely Eastern, but distinct from that of any of the three mints just discussed.

Very rare tetradrachms, with Latin legends, of Septimius Severus and Caracalla¹⁴ [Pl. XIV. 7, 8], are

¹¹ Pl. XIV. 6, shows a later coin of Domna at Emesa.

¹² Other tetradrachms of the same date have on reverse, eagle standing on hare (mint of Laodicea? Pl. XIV. 11) and City-Tyche and river god (probably mint of Antioch).

¹³ Cp. a valuable examination of these forms by O. Voetter, as an appendix to a paper by Kubitschek, December 1902, on "Der Rückgang des lateinischen im Osten".

¹⁴ Cp. Cohen, Septimius Severus, C. 55, and coin with rev. VRBI ROMAE, Roma seated l., sacrificing with patera over altar and holding spear (B.M.): Cohen, Caracalla 618 and coin with rev. COS•II, Eagle and standards (B.M.)

probably to be attributed to Caesarea in Cappadocia : the reverse of Caracalla, COS•II, eagle and standards, seems to point to a date in or after A.D. 205.

The coinage of Alexandria finds a ready explanation in history. Fearing that Pescennius would occupy the province to starve out Rome, Severus despatched a force to hold it. The imperial issues of Severus from Alexandria bear witness to this expedition. The types of the mint are partly borrowed from the Roman, partly original. A dedication to Roma Aeterna is natural for a province, adhering loyally to the capital. The types of AEQVITAS II and MONETA II may indicate a second mint after that of Rome. The issue probably begins before the end of A.D. 193 and continues till A.D. 195 at latest.

The coinage of mint (3) begins late in A.D. 193, that of mint (2) probably not till early in A.D. 194.¹⁵ There is a close similarity between the reverses of these mints and those of Pescennius Niger, and if, as is probable, both had begun to strike for Severus at latest early in A.D. 194, something like a war of types, to use Eckhel's phrase, was waged between the moneyers of the two parties. The Severan party, like its rival, claims the protection of Ceres Frugifera, Jupiter Praeses Orbis, Mars Victor, and Minerva Victrix, looks hopefully to Bona Spes and Bonus Eventus, insists on the prosperity of the new reign ("Felicitas Temporum", basket of fruits, corn-ear between crossed cornuacopiae, "Saeculi Felicit." crescent and seven stars), sets up trophies to its "unconquerable leader" ("Invicto Imp. Tropaea") and either claims the title of "Iustus" for

¹⁵ Cp. legend COS• in mint (3), IMP•II in mint (2) : see below on Rome.

Severus or else contrasts him as "Severus Imperator" with his rival ("Victoria Iusti Aug.", "Victoria Severi Aug."). Fortuna Redux, who is invoked above all other powers, seems here to be a "Panthea", or goddess of many attributes combined. As queen of chance she bears the rudder and cornucopiae, but she also carries the corn-ears of Ceres, the branch of Pax, and the palm of Hilaritas: in the character of Pietas she is shown sacrificing at an altar. We shall hardly be wrong in identifying this goddess with Isis-Fortuna. Moneta and Liberalitas attest the Emperor's generosity to his loyal subjects. The dedication, **S•P•Q•R• OPTIMO PRINCIPI** with an "adventus" type of Severus, may commemorate the reception of complimentary despatches from the senate at the time of his arrival in Syria. The later types of mint (2) (**IMP•V** to **IMP•VIII**), while echoing many of these motifs, bear definite reference to Severus' Eastern campaigns in such types as the seated captive, the victorious Mars, or Victoria Arabica Adiabénica. The fact that this mint goes on direct from **IMP•II** to **IMP•V**, omitting **III** and **IIII**, suggests that acclamations **III**, **IIII**, and **V** may have followed closely on one another.

Julia Domna has a distinctive type of her own, "Venus Victrix", with her apple and sceptre, and shares with her husband such types as Bona Spes, Felicit. Tempor. (basket of fruits), Fortuna Redux, and Saeculi Felicitas (crescent and stars). She was herself a princess of Syria and, in her province particularly, it must have been felt that Severus partly owed the throne to her.

In A.D. 196 (when Severus was **IMP•VIII**) a change comes over the Eastern coinage. It appears to be

centralized at one mint, and that the one that we have identified above as Laodicea ad Mare. But, more than that, the character of the mint changes: it loses its local character and becomes a great Eastern branch of the mint of Rome, striking in imitation of Roman style, with types mainly drawn from the Roman stock.¹⁶ The run of this coinage, A.D. 196 to 202, proves definitely that it was struck for Severus' great campaign against Parthia. It is important in the history of Roman coinage as perhaps the first of the new type of mint, i.e. not a local mint, called for a moment under exceptional conditions to issue imperial coin, but a branch of the imperial system operating in a province.

The mint strikes aurei and denarii of Septimius, Julia, Caracalla, Plautilla, and Geta. [Pl. XIV. 9, 10, 12, Pl. XV. 1-6.] The style is based on the Roman, but has a character of its own. The coins of Julia are distinguished from the Roman by something like a small broken annulet on the drapery of the neck. The surface of the denarii is often filmy and indistinct, as if they had been cast: it is, indeed, not unlikely that they sometimes were. The letters are rather rounded and occasionally show Eastern forms. The figures on the reverses are often markedly stiff and angular.

The chief titles of Severus at this mint run:

- (1) L•SEPT•SEV•PERT•AVG•IMP•VIII
- (2) L•SEPT•SEV•PERT•AVG•IMP•VIII
- (3) L•SEP•SEVERVS PER•AVG•P•M•IMP•XI
- (4) L•SEP•SEV•AVG•IMP•XI PART•MAX•
- (5) SEVERVS PIVS AVG•

¹⁶ This mint was recognized as Eastern by J. de Foville, *R.N.* 1903, pp. 354 ff.: he placed it at Antioch.

A comparison with contemporary titles at Rome is instructive. IMP•X occurs at Rome, but not here: it seems as if the tenth acclamation must have been followed very closely by the eleventh, but reported earlier at Rome. Title (3) is unknown at Rome. The Roman title of SEVERVS AVG•PART•MAX• only occurs very rarely—a fact which may indicate an intermission in the coinage when Severus left the East for Rome. It seems unlikely that the coinage extends beyond A.D. 202.

Julia has invariably the title IVLIA AVGVSTA, Plautilla PLAVTILLAE AVG• (AVGVSTAE). Caracalla has the titles:

- (1) M•AVR•ANTON•CAES•PONTIF•
- (2) IMP•C•M•AVR•ANTONINVS PONT•AVG•
- (3) IMP•CAE•M•AVR•ANT•AVG•P•TR•P•
- (4) IMP•CAE•M•AVR•ANT•AVG•P•TR•P•II
- (5) ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS
- (6) ANTONINVS PIVS AVG•

Geta has the titles:

- (1) L•SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES•
- (2) P•SEPT GETA•CAES•PONT•
- (3) P•SEPTIMIVS GETA•CAES•

Rome. The main coinage of the reign of Severus naturally falls to the central mint of Rome. It is improbable that any coins were struck for Severus in the first months of his reign in Pannonia.¹⁷ The legionary series has every appearance of Roman work.

Three main periods in the coinage may be distinguished:

¹⁷ So Voetter, Windisch-Grätz Coll., vol. vi, pp. 108ff.; Kubitschek, *Num. Zeit.* 1914, p. 191.

(1) A.D. 193-6. Coinage in all metals for Severus, Julia Domna, and Albinus as Caesar. [Pl. XV. 7, 9, 10.] Towards the close of the period Albinus revolts and strikes as Augustus at Lugdunum.

The chief feature of this period is the small size of the flans, which gives an appearance of poverty to coins which are not without some artistic merit. The flans are actually not large enough for the dies. This feature can be traced back through the reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus to the reign of Commodus. It appears probable that Commodus actually reduced the size of the denarius and that his successors continued his practice. It is probable enough that coins of Commodus were very largely overstruck. The style of portraiture is a trifle coarse, but vigorous.

(2) A.D. 196-202. Coinage in all metals for Severus, Domna, Caracalla, and Geta. Rome coins in company with a great auxiliary mint in Syria. Early in this period there is a definite improvement in the size of the flans. The style becomes rather neater and finer. The *Aes* coinage is very slight.

(3) A.D. 202-21. Coinage in all metals for Severus [Pl. XV. 8], Domna, Caracalla, and Geta. Rome now coins alone. The style is spirited and fine and suggests some reinvigoration from the East. The *Aes* coinage continues very slight until nearly the end of the reign.

The chronology of the reign rests on a firm basis, provided by the imperial titles. A little investigation, however, is necessary in order to interpret them aright.

Septimius must have assumed the tribunician power

for the first time in or about May, 193. But, as he was in his nineteenth year of power at the time of his death in February, 211, it is evident that he did not reckon from his initial date throughout his reign. The tribunician dates of Caracalla confirm us in this conclusion. Inscriptions show that Caracalla's tribunician power was five years behind that of his father,¹⁸ i.e. that he received it at some date in 198. Now the earliest tribunician power of Caracalla to be combined with the title of **COS.** (A.D. 202), **TR.P.V**, never occurs without **COS.**; the earliest to be combined with **COS.II** (A.D. 205), **TR.P.VIII**, never occurs with **COS.** only; the earliest to be combined with **COS.III** (A.D. 208), **TR.P XI**, never occurs with **COS.II**. The conclusion seems to be certain, that Caracalla's tribunician power was reckoned from the 1st of January.¹⁹ Those who believe in Mommsen's theory that, from Trajan, the tribunician power was always renewed not from the day of first conferment, but from the traditional beginning of the tribunician year (December 9th), might welcome this conclusion as an approximation to the truth. But a small group of coins²⁰ combines the title **TR.P.** with **COS.II** and, as we have just seen, there is not a single example of that advance of tribunician power before consulship which should mark coinage of December 9th to January 1st. A simple explanation is available. Severus, from the first, claimed to be the heir of Pertinax: in A.D. 195 he

¹⁸ Cp. *C.I.L.* vi. 1038, Severus **TR.P.XI**, Caracalla, **TR.P.VI**, and often.

¹⁹ Septimius Severus, **COS.III TR.P.X** in A.D. 202, never has **TR.P.X** with **COS.II**: this exactly confirms our results.

²⁰ Cp. C. 149, 286.

actually adopted himself into the family of Marcus Aurelius and so ranked as direct successor of Commodus. It was quite natural, therefore, that he should reckon his reign as beginning immediately after the death of Commodus (last day of December, 192); the first months of 193 would simply be regarded as an interregnum, filled up by the trusteeship of Pertinax and the usurpation of Didius Julianus.²¹ The only question is, when was this theory put into practice. The existence of the coins just quoted (with **TR•P•** and **COS•II** combined) shows that it was not yet in force at the beginning of 193. Pending further evidence we may assume that it came into force very soon, probably early in 194, at latest in the beginning of 196.

The scheme of the tribunician power of Severus, therefore, is:

TR•P•	c. May 193–May 194
TR•P•II	May 194–end of year

and so on to

TR•P•XVIII	211
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Caracalla's first **TR•P•** covers the year 198, his fourteenth the year 211.

Geta was in his third tribunician year at the time of his father's death (February, 211) and just lived to reach a fourth. If, as we should expect, he followed his father's year, his first year was 209, his second 210, his third 211, and his fourth the first two months of 212.

A second enquiry is necessary into the dates of Severus' acclamations as "imperator", as these play

²¹ Cp. Charles II's dating of his reign from his father's death in 1649.

a prominent part in his title. The title IMP• is, as usual, adopted at accession, i.e. about May, 193. IMP•II occurs normally with TR•P•II and COS•II, exceptionally with COS•²²; the second acclamation, then, probably came on to Roman coins early in 194 and must have been won late in 193. IMP•III occurs with TR•P•II COS•II, IMP•IIII with TR•P•II and TR•P•III COS•II, IMP•V with TR•P•III COS•II: the Eastern coinage records IMP•II and IMP•V, but not IMP•III or IIII. IMP•III and IIII, then, both belong to A.D. 194; IMP•V was not won till 195. IMP•VI is not recorded on coins, IMP•VII occurs with TR•P•III and TR•P•IIII COS•II, IMP•VIII with TR•P•IIII and TR•P•V COS•II. We have now to apply these dates to the history. IMP•II, if really won before the end of 193, must commemorate a preliminary victory of Septimius in Asia Minor, or, conceivably, the occupation of Egypt. IMP•III and IIII, both won in 194, should represent the victories of Cyzicus and Nicaea. IMP•V, for the final victory of Issus, only appears in 195, but might possibly have been won late in 194. Alternatively, we might apply IMP•II to Cyzicus, IMP•III to Nicaea, IMP•IIII to Issus. IMP•VI and IMP•VII, which must have followed IMP•V very soon, represent victories over Arabians and Adiabeniens in 195. IMP•VIII certainly records the fall of Byzantium in 196.

Up to this point Septimius had accepted acclamations with great freedom; for the rest of his reign he showed a strange self-restraint in this regard. IMP•VIII occurs

²² Cf. denarius with *obv.* L•SEPT•SEV•PERT•AVG•IMP•II *rev.* LIBERAL•AVG•COS•, Liberalitas standing l. A small group of coins of A.D. 194 (COS•II) still shows Septimius' first title, IMP• not IMP•II•

with **TR•P•V COS•II, IMP•X** with **TR•P•V** and **TR•P•VI COS•II, IMP•XI** ²³, the last of the reign, with **TR•P•VII. IMP•VIII** then records the defeat of Albinus near Lugdunum, 197, **IMP•X**, later in the same year, the raising of the siege of Nisibis, **IMP•XI** the fall of Ctesiphon, which possibly occurred late in 198.

Over the consulship there is no difficulty. Severus had already been consul when he came to the throne. He was **COS•II** in 194, **COS•III** in 202. Caracalla was **COS•** in 202, **COS•II** in 205, **COS•III** in 208; Geta **COS•** in 205, **COS•II** in 208.

Armed with these weapons, we can now assign approximate dates to coins of Severus by their obverse titles, even when exact dates are wanting.

- (1) **IMP•CAE•L•SEP•SEV•PERT•AVG•** (CAES. on the *Aes.*)

A.D. 193.

- (2) **L•SEPT•SEV•PERT•AVG•IMP•II** (to **IMP•X**)

A.D. 194-9.

The "Imperator" titles give closer datings inside this period.

- (3) **L•SEPT•SEV•AVG•IMP XI PART•MAX•**

A.D. 199.

- (4) **SEVERVS AVG•PART•MAX•**

A.D. 200-1.

- (5) **SEVERVS PIVS AVG** (also **L. SEPT(•IMIVS) SEVERVS PIVS AVG** on *Aes.*)

A.D. 210-11.

- (6) **SEVERVS PIVS AVG•BRIT•** (also **L•SEPT•SEVERVS PIVS AVG•BRIT•** on *Aes.*)

A.D. 210-11.

²³ Higher numbers have never been authenticated on coins: they occur occasionally on inscriptions.

For Caracalla we have:

- (1) M•AVR•ANTONINVS CAES• A.D. 196 (?)
- (2) M•AVR•ANTON•CAES•PONTIF• A.D. 196 (?)–197
- (3) IMP•CAES•M•AVR•ANT•AVG•
P•TR•P• A.D. 198
- (4) IMP•CAES•M•AVR•ANTON•
AVG• A.D. 199
- (5) ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS A.D. 199–200
- (6) ANTONINVS PIVS AVG•²⁴ A.D. 201–10
- (7) ANTONINVS PIVS AVG•BRIT• A.D. 210–11.

For Geta we have:

- (1) L•SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES• A.D. 198–9 (?)
- (2) P•SEPT•GETA CAES•PONT• A.D. 199–204
(GETA CAES•PONTIF• A.D. 202?)
- (3) GETA CAES•PONT•COS•
(PONTIF• on *Aes*) A.D. 205
- (4) P•SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES•
(sometimes CAESAR on *Aes*) A.D. 205–8
- (5) IMP•CAES•P•SEPT GETA PIVS
AVG• A.D. 209–10
- (6) P•SEPT•GETA PIVS AVG•BRIT•
(sometimes SEPTIMIVS on *Aes*) A.D. 210–11.

The coinage of Julia Domna presents an awkward problem in dating; for, while giving no dates, it runs through the whole reign of Severus into that of Caracalla. Voetter, however, in an admirable summary²⁵ has cleared up most of the difficulties, and there is little to add to his results.

The first obverse legend, (*a*), is IVLIA DOMNA AVG•. The head is long, the portrait fine and dignified. The hair is elaborately waved and turned up in a long

²⁴ With bust draped, A.D. 201–206, bust bare, 206–210.

²⁵ In the Catalogue of the *Windisch-Grätz Collection*, vol. v. (1900), pp. 111, 112.

chignon at the back. A general comparison with dated coins of Severus leads us to assign this class to the years A.D. 193 to 196.

The second obverse legend, (b), *IVLIA AVGVSTA*, has a long run, from A.D. 196 to 211. The earliest coins of this group have much the same portrait as Group (a). Then follows a very fine head, not quite so large, with exceptionally sensitive features, while later issues show smaller heads, with features approximating to those of the next group (c). There is no marked change in the head-dress, such as Voetter suggests. Several other criteria help to determine dates. The issue of *Aes* at Rome between A.D. 199 and 209 was very slight. To this interval therefore types of Julia on *A* and *AR*, that have no counterpart on *Aes*, will probably belong. Further, the Eastern mint of Laodicea ad Mare (?) was striking only from A.D. 196 to 202, and parallel issues of the Roman mint can usually be identified. Types, again, give some assistance. Some types have obvious associations with the earlier group (a) and are placed early accordingly. Others, such as the "Aeternitas Imperi" series, with heads of Caracalla and Geta on the reverse, can be very closely dated from the portraiture of the two lads. Julia herself too appears on the reverse of coins of Severus that can be closely dated. The series of coins shown on the plate will give a good idea of the development of this coinage. The one serious difficulty is exact dating in the years A.D. 202 to 209.

The third obverse legend, (c), *IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG.*, characterizes the latest issues of Julia after the death of her husband; the new title was probably conferred on her on that occasion. It is the only title

that appears on the Antoninianus of Julia (first struck in A.D. 215), and, to judge from style and portraiture, had evidently been in use some years before that year. Julia had always been something more than an ordinary consort; the bestowal on her of the imperial titles "*Pia Felix*" is almost an official recognition of her exceptional status.

The *Aes* coinage follows, in general, the same lines as the gold and silver and is subject to the principles of dating already established. The most remarkable feature—the break between A.D. 199 and 209 mentioned above—is not likely to have been accidental. The senate in A.D. 196 had leant towards the cause of Albinus, and Severus never forgave it for its inconstancy. Direct discouragement by the Emperor was probably the cause of the intermission in its issues.

The weight standards of aureus and denarius were maintained throughout the reign, but the denarius was increasingly debased. Severus had to find money to pursue his avowed policy of enriching the army at the expense of the rest of his subjects, and sound finance was unequal to the task.

In the *Aes* coinage the weights of radiate and laureate coins vary over a very wide range in hopeless confusion. The probable conclusion is that radiate and laureate wreaths were now used as arbitrary signs to mark dupondius and *As* respectively, and that the weights of these token pieces were no longer clearly distinguished²⁶. This would be yet another sign of

²⁶ Presumably dupondius and *As* were still struck at some fixed number to the pound of metal, which might be deduced from a large number of weighings. My few available weighings suggest that the dupondius may have been struck now as light as the *As*.

the faith of the Imperial Government, that coinage must bear any value it chose to assign to it.

A study of the meaning of the types of the Roman mint must be reserved for a later study.

Lugdunum. In A.D. 195 the "Concordia" of Severus and Albinus, which must have begun to wear thin as soon as the common enemy, Niger, had been removed, abruptly snapped, and Albinus was acclaimed Emperor by his troops in Britain. Rome remained officially loyal to Severus, though, secretly, a large part of the senate prayed for Albinus' success. Albinus, therefore, ceased to issue coins as Caesar at Rome, but struck instead as "Imperator", "Caesar", and "Augustus" at Lugdunum.

This little coinage extends from A.D. 195 to early 197. The mint is determined by the reverse, which shows the Genius of Lugdunum, the capital of Gaul, [Pl. XV. 11; cp. also 12]. Silver of the mint is not uncommon, gold is very rare, *Aes* known only in one specimen now in the B.M.:

Obv. IMP•CAES•D•CLO•SEP•ALB•AVG•, head, laureate, r.

Rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI COS•II, Fortuna seated l., holding rudder and cornucopiae (Æ 1.1, wt. 217.3, 14.08). [Pl. XV. 13.]

One type of silver, FIDES LEGION•COS•II, clasped hands holding legionary eagle, is so common in mint condition, that we are almost forced to postulate a hoard, buried perhaps just after the disastrous result of the battle became known at Lugdunum. The style is inferior to the Roman, but individual and workman-like: the lettering is clear and regular, the rendering of figures on reverse more than ordinarily wooden.

This little series, though quite isolated historically (Severus closed the mint) has a definite interest for us. For one thing, it is a precious monument of the character of Gallic art at the end of the second century A.D. For another, it teaches us an important fact about the Roman system of mints. Albinus has no coins of Lugdunum mintage before his break with Augustus; and, when Lugdunum does begin to strike for him, it is in a style absolutely distinct from the Roman. The conclusion is certain. In A.D. 193 Lugdunum was not issuing coins at all, even as a branch of the Roman mint; and, as what is true of the chief provincial city of the West is probably true of the whole Empire, it becomes highly probable that at the death of Commodus the whole issue of imperial coins was still centralized at Rome.

Britain. The campaigns of Severus in Britain in A.D. 210-11 produced no regular provincial coinage. There are, however, a few barbarous imitations, which may be in one way or other connected with them:

(1) Aureus in B.M.

Obv. L•SEPT•SEV•AVG•IMP•XI PART•MAX•,
head, laureate, r.

Rev. AEQVITATI AVGG•, Aequitas standing l.,
holding scales and cornucopiae.

A. 85, 106-7 (6-91)

Found at Carn Brea, Cornwall [Pl. XV. 14].

(2-4). A little series of denarii, found by Professor Newstead in excavations on the Deanery Field, Chester, 1924-6.

(2) *Obv.* L•S•SEVE . . . , head, laureate, r.

Rev. PAET•MA• . . . MIRPVOL, Aequitas standing
l., holding scales and sceptre.

A. 8, 56-00 (3-63)

(3) *Obv.* . . . S . . . SEV•PERT • . . . AVG•IMP•, head, laureate r.

Rev. TR•P•VI VI IMP•II COS•IIII, Libertas standing l., holding pileus and cornucopiae.

Æ. 7, 37·9 (2·46)

(4) *Obv.* . . . ESPA (?) AVG IMT I, head, laureate r.

Rev. FIDES MILITVM, Fides standing l., holding standard in each hand.

Æ. 75, 31·4 (2·03), plated.

We appear to have here the products of an irregular mint, but we can only guess at its status. It may have issued money for the troops, which was tolerated by Government, much as tokens were tolerated in England in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries.

H. MATTINGLY.

IX.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1930-31.

[SEE PLATE XVI.]

THE useful practice of publishing from time to time the most important Greek coins acquired by the British Museum was initiated in 1888 by Warwick Wroth, and, after a lapse of some years following his death, resumed in 1912 by Dr. G. F. Hill. His annual articles have become a feature of the *Chronicle*, and though he has now exchanged the Medal Room for another place, it seemed proper that the series should be carried on however inadequately. I must express my thanks to him not only for his kindness in reading my manuscript, but especially for his patient help in the attempt to decipher the coin of Marium.

The number of acquisitions in 1930 and 1931, up till the autumn crisis, was well maintained. The greater part, however, consisted of special collections from different districts of the Greek world, or of long series embracing minor varieties of individual mints mostly intended for the Spanish and North African catalogues. Obviously such acquisitions do not lend themselves to publication in an article like the present, though it is hoped that some will provide material for special studies later on. Among them the following deserve particular mention: the second portion of his collection of Seleucid copper coins purchased from the Very Rev. Edgar Rogers, Dean of Bocking, who has also presented

the Museum with long series of Phoenician, Palmyrene, and Elymaid copper coins; a selection of copper coins of Syria and Palestine, mostly of the imperial epoch, from the collection formed in the country by the late Dr. D. A. Coles; selections of 60 and 54 "New style" tetradrachms of Athens from two recent finds; and the residue of the Delta hoard (already published in *Num. Chron.*, 1930, p. 93, and 1931, p. 66) comprising many fragments of dumps and coins, the gift of Mr. M. Nahman.

Apart from these the following coins may be thought worthy of special treatment; all are illustrated on Plate XVI.

ETRURIA: VETULONIA.

1. *Obv.*—Female head r., the hair looped above the left temple, drawn backwards, and secured in a knot behind.

Rev.—Winged? caduceus; in field r., traces of rosette.

Æ ↓ 19.0 mm. 132.5 gr. (8.59 grm.)

The first specimen of this coin, which is not mentioned in A. Sambon's *Monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, was published by Hill in *Num. Chron.*, 1917, p. 2. It is from different dies. The inscription *Va-* which he then read on the obverse is here off the flan; on the other hand, the present specimen shows on the obverse a very curious loop of hair above the left temple for which it is hard to find parallel or explanation save the engraver's clumsiness, and a type on the reverse. Further examination of the earlier coin shows that it, too, bears the same reverse type, but that, like some other Etruscan reverse types (e.g. the silver didrachms of Populonia, Sambon, *op. cit.*, p. 51 seq.), it was so

carelessly struck as to throw the whole device practically off the flan. As Hill points out, the head bears a strong resemblance (apart from the loop of hair) to the heads of Artemis at Syracuse under Agathocles; and the coin, in spite of its early appearance, is not likely to have been struck before the third century B.C.

THRACE: BYZANTIUM.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Athena l., with flowing hair, in crested Corinthian helmet of late form, the bowl of which is decorated with a dolphin.

Rev.—Heifer standing l. on trident l.; beneath belly BY; above ΕΠΙ; beneath trident, ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙ.

AR ↑ 235 mm. 91.9 gr. (5.96 grm.)

The style of this coin suggests a date not earlier than the second part of the second century B.C. During this period there was a plentiful output of Lysimachean staters at Byzantium, but no other silver coin of native types appears to be known. The magistrate's name Dioclei(das?) is also new. The weight is interesting; it is too heavy to be a third of the Attic tetradrachm, which is the smaller denomination of the preceding period (*B.M.C., Thrace*, p. 95, no. 27). It is presumably a didrachm of the cistophoric standard. Though Athena is called the Poliouchos of Byzantium by a late author,¹ coin types representing this goddess are very rare there, and there is none other apparently earlier than Caracalla.² The dolphin on the helmet (a most exceptional ornament) adds a marine flavour often characteristic of Byzantine coins. The same ornament

¹ Pauly, *R.E.* iii. 1146.

² Berlin, *Beschreibung*, i, p. 154, nos. 93-4. Mionnet, *Suppl.* ii, p. 248, no. 265 under Antoninus Pius; I cannot trace the Polias head coin-types mentioned in *R.E.*, *ibid.*

appears on the helmet of the goddess in a single issue at Velia (*B.M.C., Italy*, p. 304, no. 100).

THESSALY: PHARSALUS.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing ear-ring, in crested Athenian helmet, the bowl of which is decorated with a sphinx, the peak of the vizor with a palmette; behind the neck-piece, T above \odot .

Rev.—Horseman r. in petasus and chlamys, on prancing horse, striking downwards with mace in raised r.; in field r., pellet; above Φ]A, beneath Θ ; around, reading inwards, rudely scratched graffito MNAΣ.

R ← 17.5 mm. 93.6 gr. (6.07 grm.).

This beautiful drachm came from a small find of similar coins of Pharsalus which has recently appeared on the market. The sphinx, after Scylla, is the rarest of the enrichments on Athena's helmet in this series. The T on the obverse presumably represents the same individual as TH in the same position on some other coins of the same series (e.g. *B.M.C., Thessaly*, &c., p. 43, nos. 6 seqq.). The pellet in the field which appears also on the Jameson coin (Jameson 1103 = Hirsch xiii. 1419, from the same dies as the present specimen?) is of considerable numismatic interest. It is so perfectly formed and clear that it can hardly be an accidental flaw in the die, but must be an issue mark. Apart from the Carthaginian series, where such marks are not uncommon, the nearest parallel I can find is in the coinage of Syracuse with Corinthian types under Timoleon (*B.M.C., Corinth*, &c., p. 98, nos. 5 and 6 from different dies). The graffito is perhaps worth a note. Such inscriptions are usually considered to be votive, but Mnas... can hardly have

scratched his name in an act of dedication. If he had thus made an offering of the coin we should have to assume that it had got back into circulation again later; but, in that event, its occurrence in a hoard consisting only of contemporary coins of similar type would be most unlikely. Mnas. . . must have put his name on the coin because it belonged to him.

CRETE: APTERA.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Artemis r. with stephane, wearing necklace and crescent ear-ring with triple pendant; behind, upwards, Α ΠΤΑΡΑΙΩΝ divided by the neck; in front, in small letters, ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΥ downwards.

Rev.—ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙ ΚΟΣ on l. and r., up and down; the hero standing to front, head l., raising r. hand in worship of sacred tree before him; he wears close fitting crested helmet with cheek pieces, short chiton, and cuirass; carries a round shield charged with star over l. shoulder, and rests l. upon upright spear.

Æ ↓ 25.0 mm. 176.9 gr. (11.46 grm.).

Other coins from the same dies are noted by Svoronos from the Paris, London, and Imhoof-Blumer Collections (*Num. de la Crète anc.*, p. 15, no. 5), to which may be added a further specimen in the B.M. from the Seager Collection and the H. Weber specimen (Forrer, *Cat.*, ii. 4358 = Photiades 1209). The present example shows with certainty the whole of the name written in minute characters in front of the head, a name which also occurs on a contemporary hemidrachm of Polyrrhenium.³ This fact, and analogy with the very

³ Svoronos, *ibid.*, p. 278, no. 15. This name has also been read on the didrachm with head of Zeus, *ibid.*, p. 276, nos. 5-7, but I have not yet seen an example on which it could be clearly made

similar stater of Cydonia inscribed *Νευαντος εποει*, makes it almost certain that Pythodorus was the engraver. There is a striking similarity between the work of the two artists; in both, the whole effect, with the masses of hair crowning the small slightly acid features, and the elaborate crescent ear-ring, is pictorial rather than sculpturesque. Though Svoronos does not give the head a name, there can be no doubt that it represents Artemis Aptera, the patron goddess of Aptara, who provides the greater number of its coin types.⁴ The tree on the reverse, which seems to be a fir,⁵ is probably her sacred tree; and both tree and goddess descend from an earlier religious stratum. A similar tree with its worshipper, in this case a goat lifting his foreleg much as our hero lifts his arm, is found at Elyrus, a town also situated in the Western end of the island (Svoronos, *ibid.*, Pl. XII. 13). On the warmer south-eastern coast, on the other hand, at Hierapytna and Priansus, the sacred tree is the palm. We have thus, perhaps, an indication of the districts in which we should look for the mints of the four uncertain Cretan coins with fir or palm-tree types (Svoronos, *ibid.*, Pl. XII. 19-20, XXII. 32-3, XXXI. 13).

out. For the same name at different Cretan mints, cp. the stater of Olus and the drachm of Cnossus of identical style, and both with the initial *ΚΑΠ* in monogram (*ibid.*, Pl. XXII. 23, and VI. 15).

⁴ Wroth in *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 13: for the Aptera, see Collitz-Bechtel, *Samml. der gr. dialektinschr.* iii. 2. 5181, 1. 56; for the modified middle vowel and the etymological and historical considerations involved, see Brose, *Lautehre der Kret. Dialekte*, Halle, 1909, p. 191.

⁵ Imhoof and Keller, *Tier-u. Pflanz.*, Pl. IX. 20, "Föhre".

PAPHLAGONIA: SINOPE.

5. *Obv.*—Head of nymph Sinope l. in sphendone, without ear-ring or necklace; a plait of hair is wound round the forehead outside the sphendone, starting above the ear.

Rev.—Sea eagle on dolphin l.; beneath wing ΕΠΙΚ; beneath dolphin ΣΙΝΩ.

AR $\frac{1}{2}$ 19.00 mm. 92.7 gr. (6.01 grm.).

From the Ars Classica Sale XV, no. 881, and, like most, if not all, the other drachms of Sinope in that sale, from a hoard of which the greater part was published in this journal two years ago (*Num. Chron.*, 1930, pp. 1 seqq.). The magistrate's name is unpublished, though probably the same as the ΕΠΙ . . . on another coin of the find (*ibid.*, p. 13). The obverse die, with the unusual wreath-like plait of hair round the forehead, is also used by the magistrate ΦΙΛΟ (*ibid.*, p. 2, no. 2 A).

IONIA: SAMOS (?)

6. *Obv.*—Female head l. wearing triple pendant ear-ring, heavy necklace, and stephane, shaped like a city wall with battlements and turrets; the hair is rolled and bound with a wreath of myrtle or olive in front, but falls freely over the neck behind.

Rev.—Bull charging l.; above trident; exergual line; in exergue bunch of grapes, to l. and r. of which a letter erased in the die, Ξ A ?

AV $\frac{1}{2}$ 17.00 mm. 132.0 gr. (8.55 grm.).

Like other gold issues of Asia Minor of the same period, e.g. at Cius and Pergamum, this has no ethnic inscription. The Jameson Collection contains a stater of the same types which has been discussed in detail

by Regling.⁶ On this coin a club symbol replaces the trident and there is neither symbol nor trace of lettering in the exergue.⁷ Both Regling and Jameson attribute it to Phygela, presumably on the strength of the types, and date it before the period of Alexander. The erased letters in the exergue of the new variety now call this attribution in question. They must have been the initials either of a personal or a place name. But though possible, it is unlikely, in view of the two mint-marks already on the reverse, that they represented a moneyer or magistrate. Therefore they probably represented the name of a city of which the second letter is certainly A or Λ and the first, more doubtfully, Σ. This at the same time rules out Phygela and suggests Samos. Phygela was a town of small importance anyhow (a hamlet in Strabo's days)⁸ and not *a priori* likely to have issued a gold coinage, and the types are no less suitable to Samos. The bull in one form or another was the constant type there from the earliest times, and the turreted head with falling hair and rich necklace will be the patron goddess of the island, Hera. Regling has stressed its resemblance to the head of Artemis Munychia on the fourth-century bronze coins of Phygela, but it resembles even more closely that of Hera on the contemporary bronze of Samos. At Phygela the earlier bronze shows a head

⁶ Jameson, *Cat.*, i, Pl. XCVII, 1843; and *Z. f. N.*, Bd. xxxiv (1924), p. 177.

⁷ The ends of the hair also fall in front of the neck, but this feature may have been present on the B.M. coin also, for it has once been mounted and was evidently damaged in this place when the mount was removed.

⁸ Πολίχνοι, XIV, 1, 20.

in profile with a plain necklace and the hair bound up behind, the later bronze a facing head with rich necklace and back hair loose. At Samos a profile head with rich necklace and the back hair loose is the constant type (*B.M.C.*, nos. 143-60, 166-70). Neither at Phygela nor at Samos do we find the peculiar turreted stephane of the gold coins, nor, in the fourth century, the wreath. Later Samian coins, however, show the head wearing wreath as well as stephane.⁹

From 365 down to 322 Samos was in effect an annexe of Athens and issued no coins.¹⁰ Regling (*loc. cit.*) has assumed that from the time of Alexander, or at any rate after his death, there can have been no autonomous issues of gold, and in that case the attribution of these coins to Samos would be impossible. Looking back on the period in the light of the later development of the Hellenistic kingdoms it is easy to fall into such an assumption, but is it justified? Under Alexander the liberated Greek cities of Asia had changed their previous status as subjects of an empire for that of free and independent allies;¹¹ it is difficult to see what should prevent them issuing a gold coinage if occasion arose. In 322, as a consequence of Alexander's general decree recalling all political exiles, Samos was finally removed from Athenian hands and restored to its original inhabitants who had been homeless for the past forty years. It is suggested that such a home-coming may well have provided the occasion for a special issue of gold.

⁹ *B.M.C.*, nos. 201 seqq.; their reverse type, a peacock, puts the identity of the head beyond question.

¹⁰ P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, pp. 58 seqq.

¹¹ Tarn in *Cambridge Ancient Hist.*, vi, p. 371 seq.

IONIAN ELECTRUM.

7. *Obv.*—Ram's head and neck, l., with foreleg showing beneath.

Rev.—Rough rectangular incuse divided into two compartments filled with numerous intersecting lines.

El. 14.0 mm. 73.5 gr. (4.76 grm.).

8. *Obv.*—Griffin's head l.

Rev.—Rough square incuse.

El. 6.0 mm. ; 10.1 gr. (0.65 grm.).

Both of these coins appear to be new varieties. No. 7 is a third of the Phoenician standard; its weak, linear style and the pattern of its reverse connect it with another third with a different type, a lion's head, which has been described as a barbaric imitation (*B.M.C., Lydia*, p. 5, no. 27, Pl. I. 11). A sixth and smaller denominations of the same standard with a ram's head, but of better style, were published by Greenwell, but his attribution to Cebren is hardly less hazardous than that of E. Babelon to Clazomenae.¹² The coin does not give the impression of being before the first half of the sixth century.

No. 8 may be a century earlier. It is a twenty-fourth of the Phocaeen standard, but earlier in style than other twenty-fourths bearing this type, whether with the seal symbol or without it. Babelon gives those with the seal symbol to Phocaea and the others to Teos, but Head may be right in regarding those without the symbol (with which goes the present coin) as of Phocaea also.¹³

Num. Chron., 1897, p. 268, nos. 6-8: *Traité*, ii. 1, p. 31.

¹³ *Traité*, *ibid.*, pp. 104-5, nos. 140-2, and pp. 119-21, nos. 173-6 (no. 172, Pl. V. 4, must be a lion not a griffin). Head, *B.M.C., Ionia*, p. 205, nos. 14-18.

LYCIA. TĀNĀGURĀ.

9. *Obv.*—Winged and horned lion crouching l.; above, in field, r., ankh consisting of cross topped by half-circle; in exergue traces of legend Tānāgurā in Lycian script.

Rev.—Trisceles; above on l. similar ankh.

Æ 20.0 mm. 130.2 gr. (8.44 grm.).

Tānāgurā's coinage is dated to the second half of the fifth century (*B.M.C., Lycia*, p. 18). The stater is known in several variants, of which the present with single ankh and without legend has been noted but inadequately illustrated by Six.¹⁴

CYPRUS: MARIUM.

10. *Obv.*—Lion r. with head bent down to lick foreleg which he is also scratching with hind paw; above double axe of Minoan form; exergual line; in exergue, elaborate double spiral ornament; above, from r. to l. divided by the symbol 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 ? 𐤆 ?) 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉.

Rev.—Nude male figure with hair in corymbus hanging beside ram going l., the r. clasped round its neck, the l. falling limply; below, on l., similar double axe; on l. downwards, 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 and beneath, inverted, 𐤅 𐤆; square incuse.

Æ 24.0 mm. 171.8 gr. (11.13 grm.), presented by R. Gunnis, Esq.

This excessively rare issue was only known till recently in a single stater and third-stater in the British Museum, where they are catalogued under the Uncertain.¹⁵ Unfortunately both were worn coins, struck

¹⁴ *Rev. Num.*, 1886, p. 156, no. 98.

¹⁵ *B.M.C., Cyprus*, pp. lix and 71; J. P. Six in *Rev. Num.*, 1883, pp. 342.

from worn dies, and so poor as to be almost undecipherable; all that was certain was that the inscription on the reverse of the third-stater was in Phoenician and began with \aleph , while the inscription on its obverse, and on the reverse of the stater, were in the Cypriote script. In the last few years, however, no fewer than nine examples of the stater have come to light. Four were acquired by the late R. T. Gunther, an ardent collector in Cyprus: their present whereabouts is unknown to me. Later on three more came into the hands of Mr. Gunnis, who kindly presented one to the British Museum and retained the rest for the Cyprus Museum, which already had an example. Through the kindness of these two gentlemen the Museum possesses casts of all eight coins, and an obverse and reverse of two coins from the Gunther collection are here illustrated as nos. 10 *a* and 10 *b*. All these coins appear to be from the same dies as the old B.M. specimen. Finally, another stater has recently appeared in a Frankfurt auction room (Cahn 71 (1931), lot 501). This coin is from the same obverse die, though the inscription is obliterated, but it resembles the third-stater in having a Phoenician inscription on the reverse. This is plainly \aleph , and it becomes clear that the second letter on the third-stater, though not so well formed, should also be read as ayin instead of lamed. These two letters could hardly fail to be the initials of Marium;¹⁶ but certainty can now be reached by a comparison with the six other staters which read Ma - ri - e - u - se - in Cypriote script on the reverse.

¹⁶ Six (*l.c.*) had already jumped to this conclusion, though he took the second letter for a lamed.

The obverse legend is much more obscure; it is an expansion of the legend on the drachm in which Hill, reading from l. to r., saw sa - vo - to - se followed by two more uncertain letters, while Six, reading in the reverse sense, boldly produced Sa - ma - i - as (?) Ro - xa (nous). As the staters show all the letters of the drachm and two more as well on the left-hand end of the inscription, it is clear that Six was right in reading it retrograde. Thus reading, the last three letters¹⁷ are certainly sa - to - ro -. The preceding letter has the form usually associated with vo- but which also appears as a lapidary form of ka-;¹⁸ and I am inclined to agree with Six in reading it here. The preceding letter, though of slightly different shape from the last but one, must also be a to -. Accepting the syllable ka - these five letters give a good name in the genitive case, Δοξάνδρω,¹⁹ which looks like a patronymic. If so, the five earlier letters must contain another name, whether in the nominative or genitive case. The last of them, immediately preceding the initial of Δοξάνδρω is a certain se-, which would fit either case. The earlier four are obscured by the striation of the surface at this point from the lion's mane. The first two from the right must be the same, sa - sa -, unless, as is just possible, they should be combined to read a single

¹⁷ No. 10 A shows clearest the end of the inscription, i.e. that part on the left of the double axe symbol, while no. 10 (the new Museum specimen) shows the beginning best.

¹⁸ At Drimu and New Paphos, Collitz-Bechtel, *Dialekt-Inschriften*, i, table facing p. 80.

¹⁹ For this name, cp. Arist., *Pol.* (Teubner) 1304a. 9, where though Δέξανδρος appears in the text Δόξανδρος (the more difficult reading) has respectable manuscript authority. Τόξανδρος may also be a possibility.

letter, ki-, mi-, or la-; the next is more like a ma- (Six's reading), but might be ku-; the next even more doubtfully o- or ri-. The resultant Sasamarios-Sasakurios or such, has an Egyptian ring, and we might compare the forms *Σεσμαῖος*, *Σέσωγχις*, *Σεσόγγωσις*, *Σέσωθις*, &c. A hellenized Egyptian name is quite possible in Cyprus and would explain the outlandish appearance of the inscription with the duplicated initial Sa-. But the exact form must remain doubtful.

The types deserve a word, since the better preservation of the new coins enables us to correct the previous descriptions in some details. The animal on the obverse has been called a panther, but as he has a very definite mane and is as near to a lion as many Greek artists can get, it seems hard to deny him the name. The sex of the naked figure on the reverse is, I think, definitely masculine, and the fashion in which the hair is worn passes equally for male or female. If masculine, why not Phrixus and his ram after all? The double axe symbol, with its form descending direct from the Minoan, is an interesting addition to the list of survivals.

PERSIA.

11. *Obv.*—The great King running r., holding dagger in r. and bow in l. hand; he wears *kidaris*, *kandys*, and quiver; exergual line.

Rev.—Irregular oblong incuse with a small rectangular frame at one end containing a club.

Æ ↑ 83.7 gr. (5.45 grm.).

This coin came from a small hoard found in Asia Minor and containing at least one other coin from the

same dies. It belongs by style and details of treatment to the group which Hill has collected together as II A in his recent classification²⁰ and which he dates about 400 B.C. Indeed, it is from the same reverse die as the gold daric (*B.M.C.*, no. 109) which stands at the head of the group, but which, owing to faulty striking, does not show the symbol clearly. The use of the same die for gold and silver coinage is most remarkable. This club symbol has not been noticed before. The other symbols in the group are the lion's head and lion's scalp which Milne has suggested were used to mark the mint of Sardis. The club may well attach to the same circle of ideas. Lion and club both belong to Heracles, and his cult at Sardes is well attested by the coins from the second century B.C. onwards.

EGYPT: LIBYAN NOME.

12. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΚΑΙΤΑΙΑ(?) ΑΔΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ.... Bare bust of Antoninus Pius r. laureate.

Rev.—ΛΙΒΥ Η. Ammon (?) standing to front, head to r., horned and diademed (?) with long hair, crowned by winged disk flanked by two uraei; he wears a long robe covering the feet, the end caught up over his l. arm; rests r. on sceptre and holds ram on outstretched l. hand, in field r. ☐; dotted circle.

Æ ↑ 33.0 mm. 400.2 gr. (25.95 gm.).

This, together with several other interesting coins of the nomes, came from the R. G. Peckitt Collection (Sotheby 21, ii, 1929, lot 433). Dattari only gives one coin of the Libyan nome and that of the smallest

²⁰ *B.M.C., Arabia, &c.*, pp. cxxxv and 163.

size, an uninscribed piece of Hadrian with a ram for reverse type.²¹ On the present coin the details of the figure are difficult to make out, and it is just possible that it is female, and that the apparent beard and horn are due to accidental irregularities. The type, however, is especially appropriate to this nome, and agrees closely with the undoubted Ammon on a similar coin, also struck under Antoninus, for the Mareote nome.²²

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

²¹ *Num. Augg. Alex.*, i, p. 412, no. 6287: unfortunately the coin which Dattari illustrates under his number seems in fact to be his no. 6289 of the Lycopolite nome.

²² *Ibid.*, no. 6293, Tav. XXXVI.

X.

THE SHREWSBURY MINT IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD I, AND THE SILVER MINE AT CARREGHOVA.

[SEE PLATE XVII.]

IN the course of recent investigations in the Pipe Rolls, I discovered a series of entries relating to the Shrewsbury mint in the reign of Richard I, and the source whence the silver was obtained for use in that mint.

The entries show that the mint at Shrewsbury was re-opened in 1194 to "make pennies of the silver obtained from the new mine" at *Karakawain*, or to give it its modern name, Carreghova, in the parish of Llan-y-menych, Shropshire.

The township of Carreghova, though in the parish of Llan-y-menych, is not in Shropshire. It is that portion of the parish of Llan-y-menych that is situated on the Welsh side of the border. It was a detached portion of Denbighshire, but in the last century it was constituted an independent civil parish within the county of Montgomery. It was a portion of Wales, not originally annexed to the Walcheria of Oswestry or the fief of Fitz-Alan, but conquered soon after Domesday by Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury. Under the pretext that the native Welsh princes, in breaking the oath of allegiance extorted from them by Harold, had forfeited all Wales to the English crown, William Rufus gave permission to

many of his restless nobles, on condition of homage and fealty to himself and his successors, to appropriate such districts as they might be able to subjugate. Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, seized upon several districts of the kingdom of Powys, including that of Carreghova.

We learn from Florence of Worcester that in the year 1101, when Robert de Belesme, 3rd earl of Shrewsbury, commenced the fortification of Bridgnorth against Henry I, he also began another fortress in *Walonia*, at a place called *Caroclove*. In the following year too, the earl was employing workmen by night and by day in order to complete the walls and towers of these two castles. Belesme's design with regard to Carreghova castle had perhaps something to do with the alliance which he formed with the Welsh princes Cadogan and Gervase, sons of Rees. One of Henry's first moves was to dissolve the compact by bribing the Welshmen. As the surrender of all Belesme's castles is recorded by Florence of Worcester in the same sentence with his banishment from England, we may presume that Carreghova castle was included, and thus it reverted to the Crown.

Henry II, in the fifth year of his reign, 1159, was in possession of this district and maintained an efficient garrison in the castle, for we find it recorded in the Pipe Roll of that year that the Sheriff of Shropshire expended £15 5s. in payment to the *coterelli*¹ at

¹ By *coterelli*, I here understand, not a class of servile tenants who appear to have held land in mere villenage, their persons, issues, and goods disposable at the pleasure of their lords, but a band of soldiers trained for predatory warfare and placed in garrison at Carreghova. *Vide* Ducange, Tom. II, p. 1127; Carpentier, *Glossarium Novum*, Tom. 1, p. 1175.

"Carlecoel". In the following year, 1160, the same Sheriff expended "In payment of one knight and twenty armed men (*servientum*), and a porter and watchmen at 'Carecoel', £25 14s. and 9d. And in the provisioning of the said castle £3 14s. And in repairs to the gate at 'Carrecoel', 3s. and 4d." In 1161 the same Sheriff disbursed—"In wages to one knight and twenty armed men (*servientum*), and a porter and watchmen at 'Carecoel', £22 17s. and 8d." In 1162 the Sheriff expended—"In wages to the knight and armed men at 'Carrecoel', £24 and 3s. And in the provisioning of the castle of 'Carrecoel', £5." From the Pipe Roll of 1163 we learn that the Sheriff disbursed—"In wages to the knight and armed men, £17 6s. and 8d. And in a gift to the same, £10 13s. and 4d." That is, apparently, the garrison had had a gratuity as well as its regular pay.

Powell's *Welsh Chronicle*, ed. 1584, p. 209, under date 1162, says—"The yeare following [i.e. 1163], Owen the sonne of Gruffyth ap Meredyth, named Owen Cyuelioc, and Owen ap Madoc ap Meredyth got the castell of Carrechova by Oswestrie and wasted it". The non-mention in the Pipe Roll of 1164, of any specific expenses at Carreghova seems to bear out this story. The English probably recovered possession of the castle in the following year, 1165, for in that year the Pipe Roll records that at Michaelmas the Sheriff renders account of 20s. expended on the *mill* of Carreghova.

For a number of years the Pipe Rolls contain no accounts relating to Carreghova castle, and it appears to have been in the hands of Welsh princes friendly towards the English. The Welsh Chronicles record

many a dark deed perpetrated within its walls during these years. At some time prior to 1194 the castle had again reverted to the English, for in that year Carreghova again figures in the Pipe Roll accounts.

Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1190 accompanied Richard I to Palestine. After the King's departure from the Holy Land, Bishop Hubert led back the English host from Palestine to Sicily. There he heard of the King's captivity; he at once went to visit Richard, and came back to England in April 1193, charged to act as one of the commissioners for the collection of Richard's ransom and closely followed by a royal mandate for his election to the see of Canterbury. He was enthroned in the following November. As Archbishop he officiated at Richard's second crowning at Winchester in April 1194; and in May the King's departure overseas left Hubert virtual ruler of England.

Since April 1193, the Archbishop had been engaged conjointly with the justices and the Queen-mother, in raising £100,000 required for Richard's ransom, and in his anxiety to raise the necessary funds he turned his attention to every possible source of revenue. The Romans had worked extensive mines near Carreghova, for copper and other minerals, but it is not known that they ever mined silver there. At some time prior to 1194, however, silver had been found, and the Archbishop, probably influenced by the traditional reports of Carreghova's mineral wealth, was induced to exploit the new silver mine and to re-open the mint at Shrewsbury for the purpose of coining the silver which was to be obtained from Carreghova.

The new mine was in the immediate vicinity of the

castle, which had apparently been allowed to fall into disrepair. The castle was re-fortified and supplied with munitions, and a garrison was placed there for the purpose of guarding the mine. The Archbishop evidently considered the project to be of considerable importance, for he sent his own clerk, Joseph Aaron, to Carreghova to superintend the working of the mine, and later in the same year he appears to have sent one of his own moneyers, Reinald, to work in the mint at Shrewsbury.

In the Pipe Roll of 6 Richard I, 1194, we find it recorded under "Shropshire", that "The burgesses rendered account . . . and in cost of the new smithy [in which] to make pennies [of silver from] the new mine (*in custamento nove fabrice ad fabricandos denarios de nova minaria*) 54s., by the King's writ." And in the same roll, under "Worcestershire", we find that the Sheriff of that county disbursed, by the King's writ, "to Joseph the clerk £20 to sustain the Exchange at Shrewsbury. And [to] the same [Joseph] £20 to purchase the mine for the King's use (.xx. li. *ad sustentandum Cambium apud Salopesbr'* . . . *Et eidem .xx. li. ad emendam minam ad opus R.*), by the same writ."

As will be seen later, Joseph did not use either of those amounts for the purpose for which he received them. Indeed it was unnecessary for him to purchase the mine for the King's use, for the right to mine was anciently a source of royal revenue, and if gold or silver were found in mines of base metals, the whole was said to be a royal mine and it belonged of right to the Sovereign.

The mine at Carreghova was opened about the middle of 1194, and at Michaelmas in that year had

been in operation upwards of three months, as is shown by the following entry in the Sheriff of Shropshire's account in the Pipe Roll of that year:

And to Joseph the Archbishop's clerk, £3 11s. and 4d., his wage for 108 days (*sic*), that is, at 8d. a day, by the King's writ. And for 20 mattocks (*ligonibus*) bought and sent to the castle of *Karakawain*, 4s., by the same writ. And in work done to the surrounding wall about the said castle (*in operatione cinguli circa predictum castellum*), £20, by the same writ. And in wages of the knights and armed men on guard at the mine at *Karakawain*, £28 2s. and 4d., by the same writ, as witnessed by John and Ralph L'Estrange and Joseph the Archbishop's clerk.²

Joseph the clerk, who was in charge of the mine, renders no account in the Pipe Roll of 1194, from which circumstance we may conclude that although the mine had been worked since June of that year, at Michaelmas, when the roll was made up, the silver obtained from the mine had not been smelted and, consequently, the mint at Shrewsbury was not yet in operation.

During the following financial year—Michaelmas 1194, to Michaelmas 1195—the Sheriff of Shropshire again expended a considerable sum of money in connexion with the castle and mine at Carreghova, as is shown by his account in the Pipe Roll of the latter year, which is as follows:

And to the armed men (*servientibus*) retained at *Karre-covan* for the custody of the mine £4 14s. and 11d., by authority of the Archbishop's writ; and to Ralph L'Estrange £20 for completing the works surrounding the *Ruilium*³ of *Karre-covan*; and to the said Ralph £7 the

² See p., 233 *post*.

³ I fail to find this word in any Latin Dictionary, or Glossary of words used in medieval documents, but in the *Dictionnaire Breton-Français du Dialecte de Vannes*, par Emile Ernault, 1904, I find

price of 70 crannocs of grain and £4, the price of 50 bacons which were delivered to him for use in the custody of the castle of *Karrecovan*, by authority of the said Archbishop's writ; and for the armed men retained in the custody of the same castle, 40s., by the same Archbishop's writ; and to Godfrey Rufus and his two fellows, 15s. their wages for the 15 days they resided in the said castle, by authority of the said Archbishop's writ. And to John L'Estrange 6 marks for making a well in the said castle, with a wall and *ruilium*.⁴

In the same roll (1195), also under "Shropshire", appears the following interesting record of Joseph the Clerk's account of receipts and expenditure in connexion with the mine at Carreghova, and the Shrewsbury mint:

Joseph Aaron rendered account of £20 11s. and 1d., the issues of the mine at *Karacovein* and of the 40s. and 2d., the profits of the *Cambium*. The £40 which he received from the Sheriff of Worcester and for which he is answerable (and the account he rendered is on the *dorse* of the rotulus for Gloucester) by the audit of Yvo Polcier, Baldewin le Uplandeis and Martin Ruffus, namely, for £18 of the said issues [gross profits] from St. John the Baptist [24th June], of last year to Pentecost [21st May] of this; and by the audit of Hugo de Norton, Robert de Baskerville and Hamming Sheakeli, of 47s. and 8d. of the said issues from Pentecost last to the Feast of St. Peter's Chains (1st August), following. Paid into the Treasury, *nil*. And paid to the Archbishop of Canterbury 41s. and 1d. a tithe of the entire issues of the said mine during the said terms

the following: "*ruilh*, s. pl. *eu*; à *ruilheu* (pommes disposées) en tas allongés (*Est* 71); -aj, *m.* roulement; *ruilhal*, -*lhein*, v. a. et *n.* rouler; faire figure (l'A.); *ruilhereh*, -*reah*, *m.* pl. *eu*, roulage, action de rouler." There can be little doubt that *Ruilium* indicates the roller of the windlass, upon which was wound the cord or chain when raising water from the well. The Pipe Roll scribe, probably a Breton, and apparently unacquainted with a Latin word indicating a windlass, Latinized and used a word with which he was familiar in its sense of a roller or windlass.

⁴ See p. 234, *post*.

by the gift of the lord King and by the authority of his writ. And to Godfrey Ruffus and his fellow workmen and for each horse (*singulis equis*) £8 and 4s. for 164 days, that is to each man 4*d.* a day (by the same writ) and a gift to them of 20s. (by the same authorization). And to Joseph the Clerk, in charge of the mine, £10 and 14s. his wage for 321 days, at 8*d.* a day, by the same writ. And he owes 12s. and 2*d.* but renders his account for that sum on the *dorse* of the Gloucester rotulus.⁵

And in the same roll, on the *dorse* of the Gloucestershire rotulus, we find the following:

Joseph Aaron's account of the £40 he received from the Sheriff of Worcester.

He renders account of the said £40 of which £20 was paid him to purchase the mine, and £20 was paid him to maintain the working of the *Cambium* at *Karroccavein*. Paid into the Treasury, *nil*. Paid to Master Robert de Shrewsbury, custodian of the said mine and of the *Cambium* at Shrewsbury, £16 and 14s., by authority of the King's writ; and paid to the Archbishop of Canterbury £23 and 6s., by the same writ, for which amount the Archbishop ought to account.

The same Joseph Aaron accounts for 12s. and 2*d.* of the issues of the mine at *Karracovein* from the time he had the custody of it. Paid into the Treasury, *nil*. And to Roger and William and Geoffrey, the miners, 5s. a gift of the Archbishop by the authority of the said King's writ. And he owes 7s. and 2*d.*⁶

In the Chancellor's Roll, 8 Richard I, 1196, *sub* "Gloucestershire", we find that:

Joseph Aaron [owes] 7s. and 2*d.* balance of the £40 he received from the Sheriff of Worcestershire; for which he accounted in the preceding roll (i.e. of 1195).

And that:

Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury [owes] £23 and 6s., which he received from the said Joseph out of the said £40; as is contained in the preceding roll (i.e. of 1195).

⁵ See p. 234, *post*.

⁶ See p. 235, *post*.

In the same Roll, in the account of Odonis Parvi and Nigelli Ruffi, is recorded the payment:

To Joseph, the King's clerk, 5s. and 6d. for balance and weights at the *Cambium* at *Karracovein*.⁷

In the Pipe Roll, 9 Richard I, 1197, *sub* "Gloucestershire", we again find the record that:

Joseph Aaron owes 7s. and 2d., balance of the £40 he received from the Sheriff of Worcestershire, for which he accounted in the roll of the [King's] seventh year.

And that:

Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury owes £23 and 6s., which he received from the said Joseph out of the said £40; as is contained in the roll of the [King's] seventh year.⁸

From the foregoing extracts it will be seen that although the silver mine at Carreghova was opened and silver ore was being raised in June, 1194, it is evident that coining did not commence at Shrewsbury until after Michaelmas of that year. It is also quite clear that both mining and coining had ceased sufficiently early in 1195 for the full accounts of Archbishop Hubert's unprofitable venture to be included in the Pipe Roll of that year. Therefore it is manifest that all the Shrewsbury coins of the Short-Cross series were issued between Michaelmas, 1194, and Michaelmas, 1195. Shrewsbury coins of the Short-Cross series known to collectors are few in number, and appear to be of two classes only, viz. Classes III *a* and IV. If Mr. Lawrence is correct in placing his Class III *a* before Class III *b* in point of date, Shrewsbury coins of the latter class should turn up at some future time—assuming the coinage at Shrewsbury to have been

⁷ See p. 235, *post*.

⁸ See p. 235, *post*.

continuous—but it is quite possible that William, who coined in Class III *a* [Pl. XVII. 1], coined only the silver obtained between St. John the Baptist (24th June), 1194, and Pentecost (21st May), 1195, after which there was a pause in the output from the mint, and Ive and Reinald, whose coins are of Class IV, were brought in later in 1195 to coin the silver obtained between Pentecost of that year and St. Peter's Chains (1st August), following.⁹ This would possibly account for the absence of Shrewsbury coins of Class III *b*.

In the collection of Mr. A. H. Baldwin, and also in that of Mr. L. A. Lawrence, is a penny of Class IV, reading REINALD ON S [Pl. XVII. 4, 5]. This appears to be an hitherto unrecorded reading and the coin has been provisionally allocated to Shrewsbury. There can, however, be little doubt that it was issued at Shrewsbury, and that it was struck by Archbishop Hubert's Canterbury moneyer, Reinald, whom he had evidently sent from Canterbury to Shrewsbury. Probably Ive and Reinald went to Shrewsbury at the same time, and Reinald appears to have taken his Canterbury obverse die for use at Shrewsbury, but the obverse dies appear to have got exchanged, for Ive's Shrewsbury coins, and not Reinald's, are from the obverse die used by Reinald at Canterbury [Pl. XVII. 2, 3]. The fact of the identity of the obverse die of Ive's Shrewsbury coins with those struck by Reinald at Canterbury, also establishes beyond all reasonable doubt the identity of Reinald of Shrewsbury with Reinald of Canterbury. It also shows how completely

⁹ See Joseph's account in the Pipe Roll, 1195, pp. 221, *ante* and 234, *post*.

Archbishop Hubert retained in his own hands the coining of the Carreghova silver at Shrewsbury.

As I have previously observed, all the Shrewsbury Short-Cross coins appear to have been struck between Michaelmas 1194 and Michaelmas 1195, thus showing that the introduction of Class IV must have occurred at some time in 1195. In Trivet's *Annals*, under the year 1194, it is recorded that Richard I ordered one kind of money to be accepted throughout the whole country, to the great utility of the people, who had been greatly inconvenienced by the diversity of the coin then in circulation. *Unam insuper monetam per totam terram, ad magnam populi utilitatem, qui ex ejus diversitate gravabatur, statuit admittendam.* Dr. Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, 1910, pp. 308-9, suggests that Trivet's passage relates to the introduction of Class III of the Short-Cross coinage, and Mr. Lawrence, *Num. Chron.*, 1917, pp. 362 and 367, accepts Dr. Brooke's suggestion.

There can be little doubt that Trivet's date, 1194, nearly coincides with the introduction of Class III, but Trivet's words evidently indicate not only a new coinage but also the withdrawal of the coin then in circulation, otherwise the introduction of a new class of coin without the withdrawal of the old would only add still more to the diversity of the coin already in circulation and would do nothing to mitigate the evil from which the people suffered. The Short-Cross coins show a series of periods of deterioration from 1180 down to about 1194, when there was an improvement in the coinage by the introduction of Class III, but in no way can it be considered a re-coinage such as appears to be suggested by Trivet. Moreover, we

know there was no general renovation of the coinage between 1180 and 1205, and our hoards of Short-Cross coins show quite clearly that there was no general withdrawal of coin from circulation, even at the time of the re-coinage of 1205, and Short-Cross coins of all classes, from those issued in 1180 onwards, continued in circulation until the introduction of the Long-Cross coinage in 1247-8.

It has been suggested that Trivet's phrase taken quite literally might be interpreted as saying no more than that Richard perhaps ordered that the pennies of the "Tealby" type, the first issue of Henry II, should no longer pass, but we know that currency of the "Tealby" coins was prohibited thirteen years previously, for Roger of Wendover, under the year 1181, says "Eodem anno, moneta veteri in Anglia reprobata", and in the Pipe Roll of 28 H. II, 1181-2, *sub* Cumberland, we find the sheriff's clerk fined £2 4s. 4d., for suffering the old money, i.e. coins of the "Tealby" type, to pass after the Justiciaries' prohibition, *Willelmus clericus Roberti de Vallibus reddit compotum de æliiis. et iiijd. quia precepit veteram monetam currere post prohibitionem justiciarum*. In the Pipe Roll for 1185, also under Cumberland, we find the Sheriff himself fined 100 marks for having sustained the currency of the old money after the general prohibition, *Robertus de Vallibus debet .c.m. pro pluribus dissaisinis, et quia cognovit prisiones regis evasisse a custodia sua, et quia cum esset vicecomes sustinuit cursum veteris monete post generalem prohibitionem*. It has also been suggested, alternatively, that Richard's prohibition was directed against the currency of non-English coins, e.g. his own deniers of Aquitaine and

Poitou, but that suggestion appears to be negatived by the small number of those coins found in England.¹⁰

Trivet, unlike a majority of the early chroniclers, fails to record the great re-coinage of 1180, and in view of the fact that there are many instances in which chroniclers have recorded important events under entirely erroneous dates, it appears quite probable that Trivet's entry under the year 1194, actually relates to the introduction of the Short-Cross series in 1180.

The evidence of the Shrewsbury, &c., Pipe Roll entries cited above, which clearly show that Class III terminated in 1195, does not exactly coincide with what is generally considered to be the evidence of the Durham coins. Roger of Hoveden, under date 1196, says:

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Philippo Dunelmensi electo licentiam fabricandi monetam in civitate sua Dunelmensi, quod prædecessoribus suis a multo tempore retro non erat permissum.

This licence to coin money at Durham, granted to Bishop Philip in 1196, is generally understood to be Richard's first grant of a mint to the bishopric of Durham, and as the Durham Short-Cross coins commence with Class III *b*, it has been assumed that Class III *b* was in issue in 1196, but in view of the Shrewsbury evidence it appears probable that Richard's first grant of coinage at Durham was to Bishop Pudsey, in 1194, and that the grant to Bishop Philip, in 1196,

¹⁰ The Eccles and Colchester hoards, and the French hoard described by Mr. Lawrence in *Num. Chron.*, 1897, pp. 235-44, containing an aggregate of 17,717 coins, principally of the Short-Cross series, failed to disclose any Anglo-Gallic coins.

was merely a confirmation charter granted upon his appointment to the bishopric.

When Richard was making his preparations for a crusade, at the Council of Geddington, in 1188, the Bishop of Durham, inflamed with the zeal of the times, after the example of many other dignitaries of the church, took upon himself the crusading vows and levied money in his bishopric for the expedition. He was present at Richard's coronation and walked on the king's right side. Bishop Pudsey had collected a large sum of money for the crusading expedition, but the king, more desirous of the bishop's gold than his personal services, proposed to dispense with his vow, and to appoint him regent during his own absence, a proposal which greatly appealed to Pudsey's vanity and he instantly caught at the offer. Upon the king's application for a loan of his treasures, a bargain was entered into by which, for a large sum of money, the king bestowed upon the bishop the earldom of Northumberland, the office of chief justiciary of all England, and the governorship of Windsor Castle. And upon the king's departure Bishop Pudsey was appointed regent of the district north of the Humber.

In 1190 the bishop was arrested by William Longchamp at Tickhill and taken prisoner to Southwell where he was kept in custody till he consented to surrender his castles, justiciarships, and earldom. Hugh at once sent messengers to Richard, and the king, probably feeling that the bishop had been harshly treated, ordered the earldom to be restored to him. In 1194, after Richard's return, preparations were being made for his second coronation. On 27th March, Pudsey met the king at Nottingham and was

favourably received, and three days later he was present at the great council. On April 11, the bishop was appointed to provide for the escort of the King of Scotland to the court. The next day, however, he quarrelled with William, who complained of his conduct to Richard. On April 17, the bishop attended the coronation of Richard, who appears to have rebuked him sharply for his conduct towards the King of Scotland, and a few days later, observing a change in Richard's disposition towards him, he thought it prudent to surrender his earldom of Northumberland voluntarily, and the king promptly bestowed it on Hugh Bardolf. Bishop Pudsey died in the following year, 1195, and his successor, Philip of Poitou, was appointed in 1196.

As previously suggested in the light of the Shrewsbury evidence it seems highly probable that the king, in order to recompense Pudsey, in some degree, for the loss of his earldom and other offices, granted him, in 1194, the privilege of coining at Durham, and that the grant of 1196, recorded by Roger of Hoveden, was merely a confirmation charter to Bishop Philip upon his appointment in that year. The Durham coins appear to confirm the foregoing suggestion. Adam coined there for a short time in Class III *b*, and Alain, who was presumably identical with Alain the Carlisle moneyer, coined at Durham also in Class III *b* [Pl. XVII. 6] and in Class IV [Pl. XVII. 7], i.e. according to the Shrewsbury evidence, in 1194 and 1195, his employment at Durham terminating with the death of Bishop Pudsey in the latter year. Peter (i.e. Peter Sagarnium), whose coins commence with Class IV [Pl. XVII. 8] and continue to Class VII *a* [Pl. XVII. 9, 10, 11], was evidently introduced by Bishop Philip

upon his appointment in 1196 and Richard's confirmation of the coining privilege in the same year. In the *Victoria History of Durham*, vol. ii, p. 14, it is stated that Philip of Poitou was "a friend of King John, who gave him a new grant of a mint at Durham". No authority for this statement is given, though the author, in a footnote, says: "Noble's *Two Dissertations* is the chief authority on the mint." A careful search of the work in question, fails to disclose any reference to the "new grant" referred to in the *Victoria History*. There would, however, necessarily be a confirmation charter to Bishop Philip upon the accession of King John in 1199.

During the interregnum between the death of Bishop Pudsey and the appointment of his successor the temporalities fell into the hands of the king and he appointed Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid and Richard Briewer to the responsible task of managing the episcopal estates. The accounts for the nine months during which those estates were under their management appear in the Pipe Roll for 1196. From these accounts we learn that £130 13s. 8d. was paid *ad cambium faciendum*, i.e. to provide material for the mint—charcoal for the furnace, &c., and silver from which to strike the coin—which appears to prove conclusively that the mint of Durham was in operation prior to the death of Bishop Pudsey, the appointment of his successor, Philip of Poitou, and the date of the grant recorded by Roger of Hoveden.

Longstaffe,¹¹ referring to Bishop Pudsey's appointment to the earldom of Northumberland, in 1189, says: "The charter expressly mentions mines of silver, and

¹¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1863.

the roll [i.e. the Pipe Roll] shows that the bishop got the lion's share. He was now, like the previous earls, in a position to coin money irrespective of the suspended episcopal right. It is as improbable that he would permit the coinage and exchange to go on at Carlisle, as far as his portion, by far the largest, was concerned, as that he would prefer Newcastle to the capital of his own episcopal franchise, which for the moment had joined its parent, and where he could also coin the silver of Weardale in the bishopric in addition to the proceeds of the mine of Carlisle." It appears doubtful if the bishop, as earl of Northumberland, would be entitled to re-open the mint at Durham, and had he been so entitled by virtue of his earldom he would probably have taken advantage of that right soon after he acquired the earldom in 1189, but we now know, from the Shrewsbury evidence, that the mint of Durham was not re-opened until the identical time when he lost the earldom, consequently it must have been in his episcopal capacity that Bishop Pudsey re-opened the mint in 1194.

To return to Carreghova. Subsequent to the closing of the silver mine Carreghova castle again fell into the hands of the Welsh, but it appears to have been again captured by the English about 1202. In August, 1212, Robert de Vipont, being besieged in Mathraval castle by the Welsh was rescued by King John in person, and within a few days this officer was given the custody of the four castles of Oswestry, Chirk, Eggelawe, and Carreghova. In the Pipe Roll of 1212 the sheriff of Shropshire is allowed the cost of certain military works at Carreghova. On June 10, 1213, the king orders John de Vipont to deliver up Carreghova

castle to the custody of John L'Estrange, and another writ to John L'Estrange himself appoints him Castellan of Carreghova. After this event no further information can be gathered concerning either the castle or silver mine of Carreghova. The date of the ruin of the castle was probably near to the time when, in 1226, Oswestry was appointed by Henry III as the place of conference between Llewellyn ap Jorwerth, Prince of North Wales, and certain Lords Marchers, to whom the former owed restitution. That prince after destroying all the towns and fortresses in Brecon, raised the siege of Oswestry, set fire to Clun, and demolished Powys castle, afterwards reducing Oswestry to ashes. Then in conjunction with Lord Pembroke, he made another inroad into the Marches, and laid all places and fortresses in ruins. Probably Carreghova was numbered among these, seeing that he passed from Oswestry to Powys castle, and had destroyed both.

There are several ancient mines existing in the immediate vicinity of Carreghova, but the site of Archbishop Hubert's silver mine cannot now be determined. Little or no remains of Carreghova castle now appear above ground and Carreghova Hall occupies the site of this noted stronghold, which, having existed from *circa* 1100 to 1226, only 126 years, has left little behind but a name to bear witness to its history.

In conclusion I beg to express my best thanks to the officers of the Coin Department of the British Museum, and to Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and L. A. Lawrence for supplying me with casts of coins in their respective collections and for permission to use them for illustrating this article.

W. C. WELLS.

APPENDIX.

Pipe Roll, 5 Henry II, 1158-9, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et in liberatione Cotterellorum de Carlecoel .xv. *li.*
et .v. *s.*

Pipe Roll, 6 Henry II, 1159-60, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et in liberatione .i. militis et .xx. servientum et
portarii et vigilum de Carecoel .xxv. *li.* et .xiiij. *s.* et .ix. *d.*
Et in munitione eiusdem castelli .lxxiiij. *s.* . . Et in
reparanda porta de Carrecoel .iij. *s.* et .iiij. *d.*

Pipe Roll, 7 Henry II, 1160-1, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et in liberatione .i. militis et .xx. servientum et portarii
et vigilum de Carecoel .xxii. *li.* et .xviij. *s.* et .viiij. *d.*

Pipe Roll, 8 Henry II, 1161-2, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et in liberatione militis et servientum de Carrecoel
.xxiiij. *li.* et .iij. *s.* . . Et in munitione castri de Carrecoel
.c. *s.*

Pipe Roll, 9 Henry II, 1162-3, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et in liberatione militis et servientum de Carrecovel
.xviij. *li.* et .vj. *s.* et .viiij. *d.* Et in donis eorundem .x. *li.*
et .xiiij. *s.* et .iiij. *d.*

Pipe Roll, 11 Henry II, 1164-5, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et in molendino de Carrecoen .xx. *s.*

Pipe Roll, 6 Richard I, 1193-4, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et in custamento nove fabrice ad fabricandos denarios
de nova minaria .liij. *s.* per breve Regis.

Pipe Roll, 6 Richard I, 1193-4, *sub* "Worcestershire":

Et Joseph clerico .xx. *li.* ad sustentandum cambium
apud Salopesbr' per breve Regis. Et eidem .xx. *li.* ad
emendam minam ad opus Regis per idem breve.

Pipe Roll, 6 Richard I, 1193-4, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et Joseph clerico archiepiscopi .lxxj. *s.* et .iiij. *d.* de
liberatione sua de .c. et .viiij. diebus scilicet .viiij. *d.* in die
per breve Regis. Et pro .xx. ligonibus emptis et missis ad
castellum de Karakawain .iiij. *s.* per idem breve. Et in
operatione cinguli circa predictum castellum .xx. *li.* per
idem breve. Et in liberatione militum et servientum ad

custodiam minarie de Karakawain .xxviij. *li.* et .ij. *s.* et .iv. *d.* per breve Regis et per testimonium Johannis et Radulfi Extraneorum et Joseph clerici archiepiscopi.

Pipe Roll, 7 Richard I, 1194-5, *sub* "Shropshire":

Et servientibus retentis apud Karrecovan ad custodiam minarie .iiij. *li.* et .xiiij. *s.* et .xj. *d.* per breve eiusdem archiepiscopi. Et Radulfo Extraneo .xx. *li.* ad perficiendum cingulum circa ruilium de Karrecov'. Et ipsi Radulfo .viij. *li.* pro .lxx. crennoc' frumenti. Et .iiij. *li.* et .x. *s.* pro .l. bacon' qui liberati fuerunt ei ad custodiam castelli de Karrecov' per breve eiusdem archiepiscopi. Et pro servientibus retentis ad custodiam eiusdem castelli .xl. *s.* per breve eiusdem archiepiscopi. Et Godofrido Ruffo et .ij. sociis suis .xv. *s.* ad liberationes suas pro residentia sua de .xv. diebus (per breve) apud idem castellum per breve (eiusdem archiepiscopi). Et Johanni Extraneo .vj. *m.* ad faciendum puteum in predicto castello cum muro et ruillio.

Pipe Roll, 7 Richard I, 1194-5, *sub* "Shropshire":

Joseph Aaron reddit compotum de .xx. *li.* et .xj. *s.* et .j. *d.* de exitibus minarie de Karacovein et de .xl. *s.* et .ij. *d.* de proficuo cambii de .xl. *li.* quas ipse recepit a Vicecomite de Wirecestr' de quibus debet respondere (et reddidit compotum in rotulo de Gloecestr' in dorso) per visum et testimonium Yvonis Polcier et Baldewini le Vplandeis et Martini Ruffi scilicet de .xviij. *li.* de predictis exitibus a termino sancti Johannis Baptistae anni preteriti usque ad pentecoste huius anni. Et per visum et testimonium Hugonis de Norton' et Roberti de Baskerville et Hamming' Shcakeli. scilicet de .xlvij. *s.* et .viij. *d.* de predicto exitu a termino predicti pentecost' usque ad festum sancti Petri ad vinculas sequens. In thesauro nichil. Et Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi .xlj. *s.* et .j. *d.* scilicet decimam partem totius exitus predictae minarie predictorum terminorum de dono domini Regis per breve Regis. Et Godofrido Ruffo et sociis suis servientibus et singulis equis .viij. *li.* et .iiij. *s.* de .clxiiij. diebus scilicet unicuique .iiij. *d.* in die (per idem breve Regis). Et eisdem .xx. *s.* de dono (per idem breve Regis). Et Joseph clerico custodi minarie .x. *li.* et .xiiij. *s.* de liberatione sua de .ccc. et .xxj. diebus scilicet .viij. *d.* in die per (idem) breve Regis. Et debet .xij. *s.* et .ij. *d.* Set reddit inde compotum in rotulo de Gloecestr'sire in dorso.

Pipe Roll, 7 Richard I, 1194-5, *sub* "Gloucestershire":

Compotus Joseph Aaron.

De .xl. *li.* quas recepit de Vicecomite Wircestre.

Idem reddit compotum de .xl. *li.* predictis de quibus .xx. *li.* liberate ei fuerunt ad emendam minam. Et .xx. *li.* ei liberate fuerunt ad sustentandum cambium de Karrocavein. In thesauro nichil. Et magistro Roberto de Salopesbir' custodi eiusdem minarie et cambii de Salopesbir' .xvj. *li.* et .xiiij. *s.* per breve Regis. Et archiepiscopo Cantuariensi .xxiiij. *li.* et .vj. *s.* per preceptum ipsius.

De quibus ipse archiepiscopus debet respondere.

Idem reddit compotum de .xij. *s.* et .ij. *d.* de exitibus minarie de Karracovein de tempore quo habuit bailliam. In thesauro nichil. Et Rogero et Willelmo et Galfrido mineatoribus .v. *s.* de dono archiepiscopi per predictum breve Regis. Et debet .vij. *s.* et .ij. *d.*

Chancellor's Roll, 8 Richard I, 1195-6, *sub* "Gloucestershire":

Joseph Aaron [] .vij. *s.* et .ij. *d.* de residuo de .xl. *li.* quas recepit de Vicecomite de Wirecestr' de quibus reddidit compotum in rotulo precedenti.

Hubertus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus [] .xxiiij. *li.* et .vj. *s.* quos recepit a predicto Joseph de predictis .xl. *li.* sicut continetur in rotulo precedenti.

And in the same roll, in the account of Odo Parvus and Nigel Ruffus, appears the following:

Et Joseph clerico Regis .v. *s.* et .vj. *d.* ad balanc' et pondera ad cambium de Karracovein.

Pipe Roll, 9 Richard I, 1196-7, *sub* "Gloucestershire":

Joseph Aaron *debet* .vij. *s.* et .ij. *d.* de residuo de .xl. *li.* quas recepit de Vicecomite Wircestr' de quibus reddidit compotum in rotulo precedenti anni .vij.

Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis debet .xxiiij. *li.* et .vj. *s.* quas recepit de predicto Joseph de predictis .xl. *li.* sicut continetur in rotulo anni .vij.

MISCELLANEA.

"ROMANO-CAMPANIAN" COINAGE.

ONE issue of the "Romano-Campanian" coinage is distinguished from the rest by the variety of its symbols and letters, the didrachms bearing on the obverse the so-called head of Roma in a Phrygian helmet with griffin crest, and a symbol, and on the reverse Victory with wreath and palm, and a letter or double letter. In the course of a wider study of the early coinage of the Roman Republic we have collected a body of material which has enabled us to amplify, and in some cases to correct, the accepted list of these varieties, and it is perhaps worth while in the meantime to place this revised list on record.

The first systematic treatment of the coinage, which must form the basis of all subsequent works is that of M. von Bahrfeldt in *Rivista Ital.*, 1899, pp. 405 ff.: A. Sambon in his *Monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, 1903, pp. 430 ff., adds a few varieties. In both of these works, however, readings are sometimes given on the sole authority of older writers such as Riccio, and additional uncertainty arises owing to the doubtful interpretation of some of the symbols; for example, the "sword in scabbard with belt" appears variously as a sceptre, quiver, club, and even Priapic herm. One or two varieties which we have not seen ourselves, but have no reason to doubt, have been included in our list; they are marked with initials indicating the source from which they are derived. Current misreadings, etc., are similarly marked and enclosed in square brackets. The sources thus cited are Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.* (B); E. Babelon, *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* (Bab.); Grueber, *British Museum Cat. Republic*, vol. ii (B.M.C.); Fabretti, *Raccolta num. . . di Torino* (F); Macdonald, *Cat. of Hunter Coll.* (H); Riccio, *Catalogo . . . Medaglie . . . romane* (R); Sambon, *op. cit.* (S). The writers would be most grateful to hear of any varieties not included in this list.

Rev. Obv.
letter. symbol.

A cornucopiae.
Γ dog; pentagram.



Rev.
letter. *Obv.*
symbol.

- Δ cornucopiae.
 Ε cornucopiae.
 Ι cornucopiae ; dog.
 Η cornucopiae (B) perhaps = Μ—cornucopiae ; [club
 (Bab.)=ΗΗ—club].
 Ι cornucopiae.
 Κ dog ; trident.
 Λ cornucopiae.
 Μ cornucopiae.
 Ν wreath.
 [= “sceptre” (Bab.) = ΞΞ—sword in scabbard.]
 Ο cornucopiae (B) ; wing.
 Ρ cornucopiae.
 Σ cornucopiae.
 Τ cornucopiae ; caduceus (B).
 Υ round shield.
 Χ round shield.
 Ψ round shield [= “ring” (B) ; “strap with bottle”
 B.M.C., nos. 37-8].
 Ω sword in scabbard with belt ; tiller (plated).
 ΑΑ caduceus.
 ΒΒ cornucopiae.
 ΓΓ lunate shield ; [dog (B, H) = Γ—dog ; tiller (B) =
 ΠΠ—tiller].
 ΔΔ cornucopiae.
 ΕΕ corn-ear [= “flower” (B)] ; star.
 ΙΙ star.
 ΗΗ amphora ; club.
 ΘΘ club [tripod (R) = ΟΟ—tripod].
 ΙΙ sword in scabbard with belt [? = anchor (R)].
 ΚΚ corn-ear (F).
 ΛΛ tiller ; corn-ear (B) ; helmet.
 ΜΜ sword in scabbard with belt [= quiver (B), sceptre
 (H)] ; bunch of grapes.
 ΞΞ sword in scabbard with belt [= quiver (B)] ; bunch
 of grapes [= vineleaf (B)].

<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>
letter.	symbol.
OO	tiller; tripod.
ΠΠ	tiller.
PP	crescent.
[ΣΣ	cornucopiae (H) = Σ—cornucopiae].
ΤΤ	crescent.
ΥΥ	anchor.
ΦΦ	sword in scabbard with belt [= sceptre (F), Priapic herm (R)].
XX	tripod; dolphin.
ΨΨ	torch (S).
ΩΩ	sword in scabbard with belt [= club (B), sceptre (R)]; torch.
Ⓐ	torch.

There is also a plated coin without symbol on the obverse; on the reverse of the specimen we have seen, the letter (if any) is off the flan.

H. MATTINGLY.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

A HOARD OF IMPERIAL DIDRACHMS AND DRACHMS FROM CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA.

The British Museum has recently acquired part of a little hoard of didrachms and drachms of the mint of Caesarea, found at an unknown place in Asia Minor. It consisted of 11 didrachms and 7 drachms from Nero to Trajan, of the following varieties:

Nero	Sydenham no. 67 (2) ¹
Vespasian	„ nos. 90 (2), 91, 102, 108
Domitian	„ „ 114, 124 (3), 126
Trajan	„ „ 166, 172, 213, 213 (var. drachm)

and two other drachms:

- (1) As Sydenham no. 213, but *rev.* clasped hands holding legionary eagle.

¹ The references are to the *Rev. E. A. Sydenham's* article on the 'Coins of Caesarea' in the *Numismatic Circular*, 1930-2.

(2) *Obv.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΝΕΡ. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ.
ΓΕΡΜ. ΔΑΚ., laureate r., draped on l. shoulder.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧ. ΕΞ. ΥΠΑΤΟ. Σ. (?) Statue standing
on Mt. Argæus.

H. M.

ST. ALBANS. SITE FINDS.

By the courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Verulam we have recently had the opportunity of examining a mass of worn Roman coins, collected at Gorhambury and certainly coming, almost if not quite entirely, from the site of ancient Verulam.¹ It will be enough to give here a conspectus of our results.

	Æ.	Æ.
<i>British.</i>		
Cunobelinus	—	4
<i>Roman.</i>		
Republic	4	1
Mark Antony	2	—
Augustus	—	3 ²
Tiberius	1	—
Caligula	—	2
Claudius I	—	16
Nero	—	11
Vespasian	7	21
Titus	—	3 ³
Domitian	3	22
Nerva	—	3
Trajan	5	24
Hadrian	6	31
Antoninus Pius	5	29

¹ This, of course, is only a part of the coin-history of the site. Sir John Evans published in 1859 *An Account of Coins found upon and near the Site of Ancient Verulam*, describing in detail some 350 pieces out of 3,000–4,000 examined. Other coins from the site are in the St. Albans Museum (with a MS. description by Mr. F. S. Salisbury).

² One of Nemausus.

³ Including a restored coin of Agrippa.

	A.R.	Æ.
carried forward	33	170
Marcus Aurelius	5	23
L. Verus	1	4
Commodus	—	9
Clodius Albinus	1	—
Septimius Severus	21	2
Caracalla	2	—
Macrinus	1	—
Elagabalus	10	—
Severus Alexander	14	—
Maximin I	—	1
Gordian III	3	1
Philip I	1	—
Trebonianus Gallus	1	—
Valerian I	3 ⁴	—
Gallienus	71	—
Postumus	17	—
Marius	1	—
Victorinus	30	—
„ (barbarous)	1	—
Tetricus I	244	—
Tetricus II	79	—
Uncertain }	121 ⁵	—
Radiates }		
„ (barbarous)	106	—
„ (very barbarous)	119	—
Claudius II	170 ⁶	—
Quintillus	1	—
Aurelian	1	—
Tacitus	2	—
Probus	4	—
Diocletian	—	3
Maximian	—	5
Constantius I	—	1
Galerius	—	1
	<u>1,063</u>	<u>220</u>

⁴ From here to Probus coins of base billon.

⁵ Mainly Tetricus I and II, perhaps including some barbarous.

⁶ 12 have been noted as definitely barbarous; probably more were barbarous in a less degree.

	Æ.	Æ.
	1063	220
carried forward		
Carausius	86 ⁷	—
Allectus	22 ⁷	—
Maxentius	—	1
Licinius I	—	3
Constantius I	—	79
Crispus	—	12
Constantine II	—	59
Fausta	—	2
Helena	—	16
Theodora	—	16
Urbs Roma	—	84 ⁸
Constantinopolis	—	100 ⁸
Uncertain of reign of Constantine I (mainly late)	—	155
Constantius II (Caesar)	—	27
„ (Augustus)	—	72
Constans (Caesar)	—	1
„ (Augustus)	—	88
Constantius II or Constans (<i>rev.</i> Two Victories)	—	35
„ (<i>rev.</i> 'Fel. Temp.' Horseman)	—	64 ⁹
„ („ „ barbarous)	—	69
„ (<i>rev.</i> Fel. Temp.) (Hut—bar- barous)	—	1
Magnentius	—	14 ⁹
Decentius	—	1
Magnentius or Decentius	—	12
Valentinian I	1	30
Valens	1	48
Gratian	—	33
	<u>1,173</u>	<u>1,242</u>
Anastasius I	—	1

⁷ Including one barbarous.⁸ Some of the smaller specimens are at least semi-barbarous.⁹ Probably some of these ought strictly to be ranked as barbarous.

	Æ.	Æ.
brought forward	1173	1242
Uncertain-period of Valentinian I	—	45
Valentinian II	—	4
Theodosius I	—	6
Arcadius	—	6
Uncertain-period of Theodosius I	—	31
Magnus Maximus or Fl. Victor	—	1
Eugenius	—	1
Miscellaneous 4th century barbarous	—	10
Uncertain Roman	—	148 ¹⁰
	<u>1173</u>	<u>1294</u>

¹⁰ *Circa* 28 of 1st-2nd century, *c.* 24 of 3rd century, *c.* 96 of 4th century.

H. M.

REVIEW.

Die Staterprägung der Stadt Nagidos, von Dr. Ph. Lederer.
1932. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. Berlin. 9
plates. pp. 134.

In this excellent piece of work, which first appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* for 1932, Dr. Lederer's wide-ranging erudition and acute numismatic sense have combined to produce a most valuable corpus. The coins, which cover roughly the hundred years preceding the conquests of Alexander, are arranged in successive groups, every die being recorded and the evidence of die couplings used wherever possible. This exhaustive method is far and away the most promising instrument of research in Greek numismatics to-day, but, unfortunately, until the mass of material available in public and private collections, including the so-called 'common' coins as well as the rarities, is made available for study by photographic reproduction, its application can only be laborious and partial. Here we have it applied for the first time to a city lying on the Eastern fringe of the Greek world, and the results are most interesting. The author places the beginning of the series about 420 B.C., which is perhaps a little early in view of the similarity of treatment between its seated figure of Aphrodite and the standing figure of Aphrodite—Nemesis on the coins of Timocharis of Paphos (*B.M.C. Cyprus*, p. 43, no. 45). The accepted dating of this coin is c. 385 B.C.—perhaps a little too late, but not by forty years. Die couplings are not very numerous, but it is interesting to note that the proportion of obverse to reverse dies is roughly one to three. This seems to imply that the mint technique was the same as that of fifth-century Sicily, where the same proportion holds, and different from that of Corinth, where, to judge from the examples published recently by Ravel in the *Rev. Num.*, the proportion must have been considerably higher. Other features of great interest are the indifferent use of the ethnic *Ναγιδεων* or *Ναγιδικον* at various times; the constant passing on of dies from one magistrate to another, to which the frequent erasures and recutting of names bears witness; and the striking of counterfeit (plated) coins from official dies, whether the fraud intended was, as the author neatly

puts it, 'amtlich oder beamtlich'. One group of staters is characterized by the addition of symbols on the reverse. In the ordinary way these would be taken as some kind of issue mark, but the author makes out an excellent case for his view that in spite of their apparent detachment they are true symbols to be brought into connexion with the Semitic Dionysus-Baal who forms the main type. The only symbol whose relation to the god is doubtful seems to be the so-called priest's headdress of no. 56. Another of these symbols, the interlaced cross of no. 54, is of special interest and indeed provided the original stimulus which led to the production of this work. This form, which is of Sumerian origin, is otherwise apparently unknown in the Greek world (except for an occasional merely ornamental use on archaic Rhodian pottery) until the spread of Oriental influences in the Hellenistic period, but becomes increasingly popular in Roman times. As the result of an intensive discussion it is explained as a solar emblem. Details of weight, ethnic, symbols, &c. are usefully shown group by group in tabular form at the end—from this table the weights of group IX, which is distinguished from the others by the symbols just mentioned, appear to be appreciably lower than the rest whether before or after. Can this be accidental?

A great deal of matter, tucked away in the footnotes, is made available by an excellent index. In this way (p. 11) a bronze coin formerly given to Nagidos is tentatively attributed to Ina, a new Sicilian mint, while on p. 6, Dr. Gaebler's authority is quoted for the statement that the plated tetradrachm of Peparethus with seated Dionysus reverse, in the B.M., is false. I think that personal examination of the coin would satisfy him that it is an ancient and not a modern counterfeit.

E. S. G. R.

XI.

ISSUES OF THE *URBS ROMA* SILIQUA AT TREVERI AND THE *VOTA* SILIQUAE OF GRATIAN STRUCK AT TREVERI.

[SEE PLATES XVIII-XX.]

THE history of the silver coinage of the Western half of the Roman Empire during the second and third quarters of the fourth century A.D. is well shown in the East Harptree hoard of 1,496 coins described by Sir John Evans in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1888. Among the fifteen coins of this hoard which can be dated before the recovery of Gaul from Magnentius in A.D. 353 there is no trace of the *siliqua*, which, according to the weights given by Sir Arthur Evans in his valuable paper on the "Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain", averaged steadily c. 1.9 gramme from Constantius II to Arcadius. Besides the *miliarensis*, which has an average weight of 4.2 grammes, the only other silver coin in the hoard previous to 353 is one with weight ranging from 2.6 to 3.5 and averaging 3.16 grammes. The *siliqua* with a silver value of $\frac{1}{17\frac{1}{2}}$ of a gold pound should have a theoretical weight (at the ratio of one pound of silver to five solidi) of 2.7 grammes, and, though two of the six coins placed by Sir John Evans in the intermediate class between *miliarensis* and the normal later *siliqua* of 1.9 gramme might with their 2.6 grammes pass as early *siliquae* of good weight, it is hard to believe that the majority were struck overweight.

However that may be, a great change¹ took place

¹ The date of the change is marked approximately by the *vota*

after 353. The Rhine frontier bore the brunt of the fighting for many years, and *siliquae* at c. 1.9 gramme weight were issued in profusion from the Gallic mints—but only from Arelate, where Constantius had his base (Ammian. 14, 5; 10), and Lugdunum; neither of which mints is represented for the earlier “intermediate” denomination. Treveri, the mint for the earlier silver, is now in the background and comes forward only in an emergency issue of *siliquae* struck by Julian on the eve of his struggle with Constantius; and even here it plays a small part in comparison with the other two mints. Julian’s later large issue of *siliquae* with his *vota* X-XX comes from Arelate and Lugdunum alone of the Gallic mints; Jovian’s few coins come from Arelate.

The position is unchanged at the beginning of Valentinian I’s reign. Treveri strikes no silver. Arelate and Lugdunum strike both *miliarensia* and great numbers of *siliquae*, carrying on the mint-marks of previous issues.

But by the time when Gratian became Augustus in August 367 Valentinian had fixed upon Treveri as the imperial residence, and it was soon to become by far

coins of Constantius. His XXV-XXX coins, struck within the five years after the completion of twenty years from his elevation as Caesar (Nov. 8, 324), seem all to be of the larger module. His XXX-XXXX struck between 349 and 354 are of both modules, the majority being of the later and smaller. A single coin from Arelate of the larger module (2.97 gms.; 19 mm.), which presumably was struck between Nov. 349 and Jan. 350 when the mint passed into the hands of Magnentius, is welcome evidence that the *vota* were duly commemorated at the normal time and that the reduction in module was subsequent to the death of Constans.

the most important mint in the Western Empire for the issue of both gold and silver. In silver the beginning of the importance of Treveri and the end of the long-held predominance of Arelate and Lugdunum are seen in the remarkable series of *miliarensia* with mint-marks **SMTR**, **SMKAP**, and **SMLAP**. All commemorate the *vota* V-X of Gratian; the two latter also the *vota* X-XV of the senior Emperors, which at Treveri occur only with the later mint-mark **TRPS**. Professor Alföldi in an interesting and well-illustrated article (*Num. Chron.* 1924, pp. 69-74) discusses this issue from Arelate and Lugdunum. He shows that Lugdunum ceased striking after 369, when Valentinian and Valens completed their *quinquennium*, but before 372 when Gratian completed his. The staff and the obverse dies were transferred to Arelate. The obverse of Alföldi's Pl. VII. 7 with mint-mark **·S·M·L·A·P·S** is in fact from the same die as that of his Pl. VI. 3 with mint-mark **SMKAP**. From this point Lugdunum strikes silver only intermittently and in small quantities. Arelate also stopped striking silver before 372, and the next issue from this mint was for Constantine III in the following century.

We have seen that the mint-mark **SMTR** was discontinued before 369. Whether it was succeeded at once by **TRPS**, the distinctive mint-mark of the first issue of the *siliqua* **VRBS ROMA** from Treveri, it is difficult to say. But as Gratian still meets us with **VOTIS V** **MVLTTIS X** on *miliarensia* with this mint-mark the change must have taken place before August 372. However, from the scarcity of Valentinian's **VRBS ROMA** type, it would seem that the issue of *siliquae* did not begin till late in his reign.

The series of siliquae struck at Treveri with type "Rome seated".

The three groups of the *siliqua* VRBS ROMA which are included in the heading of these notes are only part of the long series having as type the figure of Rome seated on either a throne or a cuirass, which was struck continuously at Treveri from the reign of Valentinian I to the closing of the mint at the fall of Eugenius in 394. The remaining groups have as legend VIRTUS ROMANORVM; but, as the type in the "Cuirass" groups with either legend is identical, there can be no doubt that the figure represented is always a personified "Rome". Whatever significance, if any, the change of legend and (in one instance) of detail in the type may have will be best brought out by a connected summary of the whole series:

1. VRBS ROMA. Rome is seated l. on a throne, holding in her r. hand a globe surmounted by Victory, in her l. a sceptre or, more rarely, a spear. Mint-marks TRPS• and TRPS (rare). On one coin only I have seen TRPS•.

This is struck for Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian.

2. VRBS ROMA. Rome as above but seated on a cuirass and holding regularly a spear; very rarely a sceptre. Mint-marks TRPS• and less commonly TRPS.

Struck for Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius. The last two are extremely rare.

3. VIRTUS ROMANORVM. Rome is seated facing on a throne and holds a globe without the Victory and in her l. hand a spear, the point of which, however, is generally but not always hidden by her drapery. Mint-mark TRPS, or very rarely SMTR.

Struck for Gratian (and for Theodosius ?) with TRPS; for Gratian and Theodosius with SMTR.

4. As 3 but struck by Maximus for himself and his son Victor,² and rarely for Theodosius. Mint-mark TRPS. For Maximus and Victor TPRS is also—but very rarely—found.
5. VRBS ROMA. As 2 (but distinguishable by slight differences in detail). Mint-mark TRPS.
Struck for Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius.
6. VIRTVS ROMANORVM. Type as 5. Mint-mark TRPS.
Struck for Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius.
7. As 6. A continuation of the last by Eugenius. He may have struck at first also in the names of Theodosius and Arcadius, some of whose coins given under 6 would equally well fit in here.

I.

First issue of "Urbs Roma" at Treveri. "Throne" type (No. 1).

- a. With mint-mark TRPS. Pl. XVIII. (all), XIX.
1-15.

This type had previously been struck before Gratian's accession, freely at Rome side by side with *vota* coins and sparingly at Lugdunum side by side with a large issue of RESTITVTOR REIP. Two coins of Gratian with RB, RE in the North Mendip hoard stand alone—so far as I know—as evidence that it was continued at Rome into his reign. At the time when the issue began at Treveri no other Gallic or Italian mint was striking silver.

² The North Mendip, Grovely Wood, and Icklingham hoards together have only thirteen of this type from Treveri for Victor, against three hundred and eight for Maximus; while from the Italian mints Victor has twenty-six to his father's seventeen. Treveri cannot have struck much after Maximus' invasion of Italy in 387.

Coins of this issue from Treveri are common, but the scarcity of Valentinian I on the one hand and the necessity of finding room for the succeeding "Cuirass" issue before the death of Valens in 378 suggest that it was intensive rather than prolonged. It can hardly have begun much before 375, the last year of Valentinian's reign, and, as an obverse die-identity showing Gratian's latest portrait has been found with one of Gratian's *vota* X-XV coins, it can hardly have lasted till Aug. 377—the date at which his *vota* would appear as XV-XX.

With the help of slight but generally quite definite variations in the reverse type and the much more marked variety in the obverse portraiture we can, I think, establish a rough chronological sequence within the issue. The conclusions to which my own coins led me have been confirmed by the East Harptree hoard, the greater part of which is still in the possession of the finder's family and was most kindly placed at my disposal for examination by Lt.-Col. H. W. Kettlewell, the present owner. Neither among Lt.-Col. Kettlewell's coins nor among several of Valens kindly sent me for inspection by Lord Grantley was there any reverse variety new to me, though both sets revealed interesting die-identities bracketing different reverse varieties by means of a common obverse and *vice versa*.

Reverse varieties.

The most obvious basis of distinction is the presence or absence of barbs (or a blade) on the staff which Rome holds in her left hand. With barbs or blade it is clearly a spear. Generally in this "spear" variety the lower framework of the throne—the horizontal

rungs—is shown. On one or two coins it is not shown. One variety showing a bladed spear has a bulge at the back of the seat resembling a cushion. I have met with this in some four or five specimens, all from the same reverse die, but, as it brackets portraits of Valens and Gratian, I include it with the varieties which had a longer vogue.

The remaining varieties are based entirely on the way in which the Victory's drapery is represented above the globe in Rome's hand.

At the foot of the page I have added the number of coins found with each variety for each Emperor in the East Harptree hoard ("E.H.") and in my own collection ("P.").

1. "Spear 1". Rome holds a spear and the rungs of the throne are seen [Pl. XVIII. 1].³
2. "Spear 2". Rome holds a spear but the rungs of the throne are not seen [Pl. XVIII. 2, 3].⁴

[In varieties 3-5 and 7, Rome holds staff, not spear.]

3. "Tray". Victory's drapery is represented by a horizontal line, slightly turned up at the ends, rather resembling a tray. Her wing is generally longer than in other varieties and parallel to her body [Pl. XVIII. 4].⁵

³ With mint-mark **TRPS**. E.H. Val. I (1), Valens (3), Gratian (2). P. Val. I (5), Valens (7), Gratian (8). None seen with **TRPS**.

⁴ With **TRPS**. E.H. Gratian (1). P. Val. I (1), Valens (1 but with differently barbed spear [Pl. XVIII. 3]), Gratian (10). None seen with **TRPS**.

⁵ With **TRPS**. E.H. Val. I (3), Valens (10), Gratian (10). P. Val. I (8), Valens (24), Gratian (24). With **TRPS** E.H. Valens (1). There is one each of Val. I and Valens in the British Museum.

4. "Fish-tail". Her drapery resembles a fish's tail [Pl. XVIII. 5.]⁶ Connected with this, I think, in virtue of similar treatment of Rome's mantle, which has an outward curve on the right, sometimes filling the space between her body and the sceptre, are a few coins which resemble the following "Triangle" variety, but lack as a rule the triangle base ("Early Triangle").
5. "Triangle". Victory's drapery resembles an equilateral triangle [Pl. XVIII. 6].⁷ I think this is connected with 4 by the coins described above, which I distinguish as "Early Triangle".
6. "Cushion". The bulge behind Rome is probably part of her drapery, but "Cushion" will serve to distinguish this one-die type. Rome holds a bladed spear, but *obv.* die-identities connect this reverse with "Triangle". [Pl. XVIII. 7.]⁸
7. "Brush". Victory's drapery resembles a small paint-brush pointed downwards [Pl. XVIII. 8].⁹

The reverse varieties, which occur in appreciable numbers, are limited to four: viz. "Spear", "Tray", "Triangle", and "Brush". It will be seen from the details given in the notes that Valentinian I runs fairly level with the other Augusti in the "Spear" variety; falls considerably behind them in the "Tray", almost disappears with "Triangle", and quite disappears with "Brush"; while it is in these last two varieties that his co-Augusti, especially Valens, are most strongly represented.

⁶ With TRPS. E.H. Val. I (2). P. Val. I (3), Valens (2), Gratian (2). With TRPS P. Valens (1).

⁷ With TRPS. E.H. Val. I (1), Valens (23), Gratian (19). P. Val. I (2), Valens (70), Gratian (37). With TRPS P. Valens (2), Gratian (2).

⁸ With TRPS. P. Valens (1), Gratian (2).

⁹ With TRPS. E.H. Valens (20), Gratian (6). P. Valens (67) Gratian (24). With TRPS E.H. Valens (5). P. Valens (11).

The portraits are very varied and some reach a high level of artistic skill. Taken as a whole they can, I think, be referred to a comparatively small number of types representing as many *officinae* or schools of die-cutters. Occasionally portraits which I should regard as connected by similarity of features show differences in the treatment of details. This would, I suppose, be due to individual mannerisms of the various "hands" employed in the same *officina*.

As my evidence is based on a few hundreds of coins, while there must be, I suppose (even excluding duplicates), a far greater number that I have not seen, my suggestions for dating by means of the portraiture must, of course, be taken as merely tentative. But I feel convinced that each reverse variety is most commonly combined with a style of portrait which may fairly be regarded as typical of it, though this does not exclude its occasional combination with other portraits typical of other reverse varieties.

Obverse; portrait varieties.

- (a) *Portraits combined with reverse varieties which apparently fall entirely within the lifetime of Valentinian I.*

We saw that the varieties "Spear 1 and 2", and we may add from the numbers given in note 6 "Fish-tail", are nearly as strongly represented for Valentinian I as for Valens and Gratian. They would thus seem to have ended earliest—perhaps not later than about November 375, in which month Valentinian died.

The portraits found with these reverses are illustrated in the Plates as follows:

"Spear 1". Valentinian I Pl. XVIII. 1, 9, 11, 12;

Valens Pl. XVIII. 16, 17 (both these have *obv.* identity with coins showing "Tray" *rev.*) 23 (this has *obv.* identity with a "Triangle" coin, and *rev.* identity with a coin showing the type of portrait of Pl. XIX). 20 (Valens) and 8 (Gratian). These are undoubtedly both late portraits, but the *rev.* of 23 is very carelessly executed (quite unlike that of Pl. XVIII. 1) and suggests a later imitation; or the coin may be a hybrid. Both obverse and reverse strike one as being quite out of place among the other "Spear 1" coins. Gratian's portraits resemble those in Pl. XIX. 2 ("Spear 2") and 3 ("Tray").

"Spear 2". Valentinian I Pl. XVIII. 2; Valens Pl. XVIII. 3; Gratian Pl. XIX. 2. These are the only specimens I have noted. It will be seen that neither Valens' portrait nor reverse is in place with the two others, and I think it has no connexion with them in date.

"Fish-tail". Valentinian I Pl. XVIII. 5; Valens Pl. XVIII. 15. The coins of Gratian with nearest reverse ("Early Triangle") have either the type of portrait shown in Pl. XIX. 4 or a smaller replica of the Valentinian of Pl. XVIII. 5.

(b) *Portraits combined with reverse varieties which began before and went on after Valentinian I's death.*

"Tray". Valentinian I Pl. XVIII. 10 (*rev.* identity with Gratian Pl. XIX. 3); Valens Pl. XVIII. 4, 14, 16, 17 (16 and 17 have *obv.* identities with "Spear 1" reverses), 18 (an unusual portrait), 19, 20 (*obv.* identity with "Early Triangle" *rev.*), 24 (*rev.* identity with Gratian Pl. XIX. 4 and *obv.* identity with "Triangle" reverse). Gratian Pl. XIX. 3 (*rev.* identity with Valentinian I Pl. XVIII. 10), 4 (*rev.* identity with Valens Pl. XVIII. 24).

"Triangle". Valentinian I Pl. XVIII. 6, 13. Valens Pl. XVIII. 20 (this has "Early Triangle" reverse; it has *obv.* identity with "Tray" reverse), 21 and 22 have reverse identity; 23 (see "Spear 1" above); 24 (*obv.* identity with "Tray" reverse), 25 (*obv.* identity with the single-die "Cushion" reverse of Gratian [Pl. XVIII. 7]), which is also found with Gratian's portrait Pl. XIX. 7), 26 (*rev.* identity with Gratian Pl. XIX. 6), 27 (*rev.*

identity with Gratian Pl. XIX. 8), 28 (*rev.* identity with Gratian Pl. XIX. 10), 29 (*cf.* obverse of "Cuirass" type Pl. XIX. 26), 30 (*obv.* identity with "Brush" reverse), 31 (this type of portrait, evidently borrowed from Gratian, is commoner with "Brush" reverse and is continued for both Valens and Gratian in the later "Cuirass" issue. Gratian Pl. XIX. 5, 6 (*rev.* identity with Valens Pl. XVIII. 26), 7 (*obv.* identity with a coin having the "Cushion" reverse of Pl. XVIII. 7 (Gratian) and Pl. XVIII. 25 (Valens); portraits of both Emperors thus linking the "Triangle" and "Cushion" reverses, and the "Cushion" reverse linking two portraits of Gratian), 8 (*rev.* identity with Valens Pl. XVIII. 27), 9 (*obv.* identity with "Brush" reverse), 10 (*rev.* identity with Valens Pl. XVIII. 28), 11 (for this "Curly" type of portrait see above on Valens "Triangle" Pl. XVIII. 31).

(c) *Portraits combined with reverse variety not seen for Valentinian I.*

"Brush". Valens Pl. XVIII. 30 (*obv.* identity with "Triangle" reverse), 32 (*rev.* identity with Gratian Pl. XIX. 12), Pl. XIX. 1 (*rev.* identity with Gratian Pl. XIX. 14). The "Curly" type of portrait is, as already stated, found for Valens with "Brush" reverse, and is indistinguishable from that of Gratian; Pl. XVIII. 8. Gratian Pl. XIX. 9 (*obv.* identity with "Triangle" reverse), 12 (*rev.* identity with Valens Pl. XVIII. 32), 13, 14 (*rev.* identity with Valens Pl. XIX. 1), 15 (*obv.* identity with the *vota* X-XV coin Pl. XX. 14).

The reverse varieties which Valentinian I shares fairly equally with Valens and Gratian are linked together by common obverses, which must show us the earliest portraits. Typical of these seem to be (1) one with regular features, e.g. Pl. XVIII. 2, 5 for Valentinian I; Pl. XVIII. 15 for Valens; Pl. XIX. 2 for Gratian; (2) a less prepossessing variety of this, e.g. Pl. XVIII. 16 for Valens. It is fairly common for all three Emperors; (3) a rather ugly, thick-lipped

portrait, e.g. **Pl. XVIII. 1** for Valentinian, which I have seen for Valens also, cf. **Pl. XVIII 19**, but not for Gratian.

But these portraits are linked up by obverse identities in combination with the "Tray" reverse, which must have begun as early as the "Spear" reverses, though, unlike these, it went on for some time after Valentinian's death. Nearly all the coins of Gratian with "Tray" reverse have the small, pleasing bust of **Pl. XIX. 2**. As they are much more numerous than his father's, this portrait would seem to have remained unchanged for a while even after he became a reigning instead of a merely titular Augustus. The portrait of **Pl. XIX. 4** is rare with this reverse, but it is found with the "Fish-tail" and "Early Triangle" reverses by the side of the earlier portrait.

The "Triangle" reverse can have come in only just before Valentinian's death. It seems to have lasted to the very end of the "Throne" issue. For some time it went on side by side with the "Tray" reverse and shares with it the portraits (**Pl. XVIII. 20, 24**) which I regard as late "Tray" and early "Triangle". Other portraits of this type are seen in **Pl. XVIII. 17, 21, 22, 25**. They suggest a man of heavier build than the portraits given above as the earliest; the head is squarer and set more compactly on the shoulders. Of course, if the two portraits mentioned as irregular under "Spear 1" and "Spear 2" are really contemporary with the other coins with these reverses, this "heavier" type would have to be dated earlier, but all the other evidence seen by me points to the order I have given.

With this "heavier" or, as it might often be

described, "more dignified" portrait, one with sharper features and suggesting a man of slighter build occurs very frequently with the "Triangle" reverse, the typical portraits of which would be well exemplified, I think, by Pl. XVIII. 26 and 27. The two portraits of Valentinian with this—for him—extremely rare reverse seem to show the two styles; cf. Pl. XVIII. 6, 13.

Gratian, like Valens but in sharp contrast to Valentinian, has many coins with this reverse, the majority presumably having been struck after his father's death. If this is so, the smaller bust must, as in the case of the "Tray" variety, have been retained for him for some time side by side with the larger bust of Valens. Pl. XIX. 5, 6 may be regarded as his typical small portraits. They seem to come from the *officina* which produced what I have distinguished above as the "slighter" style, while the more pleasing portrait of Pl. XIX. 2, 3 was still being used by the *officina* which was working in combination with the die-cutters of the "Tray" reverse.

Presently a larger bust comes into use for Gratian and his portrait is now indistinguishable from that of Valens. I have twenty-one coins of Gratian with the smaller, and sixteen with the larger bust. With the "square" type of head, "heavy" tends to become a more suitable description than "dignified" and the features of both Emperors are stereotyped in the characterless portraits of Pl. XIX. 8, 12, 20. Meanwhile another *officina* is turning out the "slighter" style of Pl. XIX. 7.

At this point the "Brush" reverse seems to begin, and "Triangle" and "Brush" go on together with

precisely similar portraits; either of the two styles being used to portray either Emperor. Valens Pl. XVIII. 32 and Gratian Pl. XIX. 12 have *rev.* identity; so have Valens Pl. XIX. 1 and Gratian Pl. XIX. 14. Gratian's portrait [Pl. XIX. 13] seems to recall the earlier style of Pl. XVIII. 16. It stands—with "Brush" reverse—quite alone, in my experience.

Finally, two other portraits make their appearance during this joint run of the "Triangle" and "Brush" reverses. One is seen in Pl. XVIII. 30 and Pl. XIX. 9, both of which connect the two reverses by obverse identities. A better example is Pl. XVIII. 29. The other new portrait is that with curls, obviously representing Gratian, but found also with both reverses for Valens. At its finest it is a *crinitus Apollo* head and may have been felt as not inappropriate to the young Emperor than whom "*nemo certius destinata percussit*" (Ausonius *Gratiar. Act.*). It forms a strong contrast to his earlier portraits.

The die-identity of the obverse of my own *Urbs Roma* coin of Gratian [Pl. XIX. 15] with that of Mr. T. W. Armitage's *vota* X-XV coin [Pl. XX. 14], and of a "Brush" reverse coin of Valens in my possession with the Leningrad *vota* coin [Pl. XX. 12], as well as the general similarity of these new portraits to those on the *vota* coins of Valens and Gratian shown in Pl. XX. 8-14, prove that all these coins were struck together and, as only these newer portraits appear on the *vota* coins, that the two styles mentioned above as typical of the "Triangle" and "Brush" reverses had been superseded. In the following "Cuirass" issue the two newer portraits alone are found.

b. With mint-mark TRPS. PL. XIX. 16-25.

These are comparatively so few (I myself have none of Valentinian I, fourteen of Valens, and two of Gratian) that I have wondered whether they do not owe their existence as an independent group simply to accidental omission of the dot.¹⁰

Anyhow they run parallel in every other respect (so far as they go) to the common TRPS• series. I have illustrated their obverses on PL. XIX. 16-25. The portraits will be seen to conform in character and in their association with the various reverse varieties to those discussed above.

Reverse varieties.

"Tray". Valentinian I PL. XIX. 16; Valens PL. XIX. 17. Both are in the British Museum. I have seen no other certain examples.

"Fish-tail". Valens PL. XIX. 18. This is the only example seen by me with this reverse.

"Triangle". Valens PL. XIX. 19. This is the stereotyped "heavy" bust typical of "Triangle" and (especially) "Brush".

"Brush". Valens PL. XIX. 20. This is a variety of the same portrait. It is interesting as linking TRPS• and TRPS by means of *obv.* identity. 21. This is one of the varieties of the "slighter" type of bust

¹⁰ From the numbers given above in note 9 it can be seen that TRPS occurs rather more frequently towards the end of this issue; and in the contemporaneous *vota* coins (see p. 269) and the succeeding "Cuirass" issue a distinction seems certainly intended. However, a coin of my own with "Brush" reverse and mm. TRPS• is from the same obverse and reverse dies as one of Lt.-Col. Kettlewell's with mm. TRPS; which gives some support to the suggestion that the omission of the dot was accidental and was subsequently rectified.

typical of "Triangle" and—though less common than the "heavy"—of "Brush". 22 and 23. Good examples of the two latest portraits; 23 almost "out-Gratians" Gratian himself; cf. Pl. XX. 13 (Gratian). Gratian Pl. XIX. 24. This is the "slighter" typical style. 25. This is a variety of the later portrait (without curls) seen in e.g. Pl. XVIII. 29 (Valens). But it is not very common for Gratian, who, towards the end of the "Brush" reverse, has more usually the portrait with curls. These are the only two coins of Gratian with mint-mark TRPS that I have seen.

II.

Second issue of "Urbs Roma" at Treveri. 1st "Cuirass" type (No. 2). Pl. XIX. 26-XX. 2.

Portraits.

In this group there are only two main types of portrait used for Valens. Both are found, though comparatively rarely, with the two latest reverse varieties of the "Throne" issue. Pl. XIX. 26, 27 show the portrait without curls; 29, 30, 31 the portrait with curls. Pl. XIX. 28 is an example of an exceptional portrait. Gratian himself has regularly the "curls" portrait as in Pl. XX. 1. I have seen only two examples in which the curls were not more or less definitely indicated.

Mint-marks.

Of my own ninety-two coins of this issue Valens has with mm. TRPS• five with, and twenty-nine without, curls; with mm. TRPS one with, and three without, curls. Gratian has with mm. TRPS• thirty-six; with mm. TRPS eighteen. All his coins have the portrait with curls, which tends, however, to degenerate into either an insipid "prettiness" or exaggerated aquilinity of feature.

Reverse varieties.

The three usual varieties are shown in Pl. XIX. 26-31 in connexion with the obverse portraits. Victory's drapery again forms the easiest means of differentiating them:

"Brush"; as in the "Throne" issue. Rome's dress has vertical folds below the waist; her spear has one barb high up; the cuirass on which she sits is generally plain and narrow at the base [Pl. XIX. 27; XX. 1, 2].

"Swallow-tail" [Pl. XIX. 28-30]. Victory's drapery reaches down to the globe and generally past it, swallow-tail fashion. The folds of Rome's dress are not vertical; her spear has a double barb more towards the end of the shaft; the cuirass has a diagonal line across its upper part.

"Acute angle" [Pl. XIX. 26, 31 (same dies)]. Victory's drapery is sketchily indicated by a (generally) single short line standing out at an acute angle from the line representing her legs. The folds of Rome's dress are vertical, but spear and cuirass resemble those in the last variety.

The three following are far less common:

In Pl. XIX. 32 Rome's dress has vertical lines on either side, joined by horizontal lines. I have seen no other example.

In Pl. XIX. 33 an arc suggesting the rim of a shield breaks the line of the spear. I have seen this in four or five coins from different dies.

In Pl. XIX. 34 the cuirass somewhat resembles an owl and the spear is not barbed. I have seen this in one or two other coins from different dies.

We have seen that the "Throne" type must have ended before August 377, as its latest portraits—those, in fact, which connect most closely with the present issue—are those of Gratian's *Vot X mult XV* coins,

which would not have been struck if he had already celebrated his *Decennalia*. There could have been no long interval before this "Cuirass" issue began. With mm. TRPS the coins are fairly common and Valens and Gratian run fairly level. Valens was killed in Aug. 378 and something over a year is required to account for the output. But even larger numbers of the "Throne" type had been struck after Valentinian I's death in Nov. 375, which must bring that issue well into 377.

The rarity of coins of Theodosius struck in this issue suggests that it ended shortly after his accession in Jan. 379. I have seen for him one specimen only—with mm. TRPS. The North Mendip and Icklingham hoards each contain one of his "Cuirass" type with mm. TRPS. But these—so far as one can judge without seeing them—are more likely to belong to the post-388 second "Cuirass" issue. However, the rarity of coins of Theodosius must not be pressed too far as evidence of so early a cessation of the issue. As in the case of the *Virtus Romanorum* type Gratian struck freely in his own name but sparingly in that of Theodosius and not at all in that of Valentinian II, though both were his colleagues during the whole of that issue,¹¹ so it may have been here.

But the evidence of Gratian's own coins bears out the supposition that the issue ended about 379. The

¹¹ Gratian, as Maximus after him, struck *Concordia Augg.* for Theodosius, if one may judge from the similarity of detail in the reverse to that on his own (?) unique coin of this type, which Sir Arthur Evans has kindly allowed me to inspect. For Valentinian II alone he struck *Victoria Augg.* Of course, I am speaking only of *siliquae* and of the Treveri Mint.

mint-mark in which he decisively outnumbers Valens is **TRPS**, with eighteen coins to four. Of these eighteen, thirteen are of the "Brush" reverse variety, which seems therefore to mark the latest stage of the issue and, indeed, alone is found on the one coin of Theodosius and the two of Valentinian II which I have seen. Valens has but one of this variety with mm.**TRPS**. It is probable that the mm. **TRPS**• was superseded definitely by **TRPS** at about the time of Valens' death and that the "Brush" reverse variety alone survived. If this is so and we can assume that the rate of output remained the same, the period covered by the coins struck for Gratian alone would be much shorter than the year or year and a half which we have allowed for the coins struck for him and Valens jointly.

The East Harptree hoard—or that part of it which is still in Lt.-Col. Kettlewell's possession—has only three coins of this "Cuirass" issue. They are the latest found in it and their fewness shows that the issue cannot have long started. Two are of Gratian, one of Valens. All have either "Swallow-tail" or "Acute-angle" reverse and the portrait with curls. I have never seen this portrait for Valens with "Brush" reverse. On the evidence before me I am inclined to regard "Swallow-tail" and "Acute-angle" as the earliest reverses, combined occasionally but not normally with the portrait of Valens from Gratian's *officina*. Later the "Brush" reverse starts while the other two are still in use (all three reverses are linked by obverse die-identities), but for Valens only in combination with the portrait without curls, which is now appropriated to him. Finally, at about the time of Valens' death, the reverses other than "Brush" drop out.

For the three reverses given above as far less common I have not any evidence on which I could assign them an order in time. The reverse **Pl. XIX. 33** seems to be used mainly for Valens and in combination with the portrait without curls.

III.

*Third issue of "Urbs Roma" from Treveri. 2nd
"Cuirass" type (No. 5). Pl. XX. 3-7.*

Mint-mark TRPS.

For at least six years, from some point in the reign of Gratian till the fall of Maximus, *Urbs Roma* had not been struck at Treveri. *Virtus Romanorum* had taken its place with a type representing Rome holding a globe on which there is no longer a Victory. Ordinarily either legend and either type would be felt as an appropriate and adequate expression of Rome's sovereign position. But the removal of the Victory from the coin at about the time when the statue of Victory was removed by Gratian's orders from the Senate House in 382 is at least a significant coincidence. We cannot doubt that in the religious passions aroused at the moment the Victory of the coin, easily tolerated at other times by Christians as a harmless conventional symbol or even claimed by them as an "angel", would be identified by Christians and Pagans alike with the concrete image around which the conflict raged. If we see a connexion, we shall probably see in the change of legend also the deposition of Rome, the stronghold of the Pagan opposition, from her pride of place on the coinage.

The issue of *Urbs Roma* with mm. R*P struck in the names of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius would then, of course, have to be dated before 382.

We must assume that, the victory won, there no longer existed a reason why the symbolic Victory, or angel, should not be restored to her globe, for in this issue and always henceforth she is found on the coinage with the legend *Urbs Roma*.

In contrast to the 1st "Cuirass" issue the mint-mark is TRPS only. Of the four Emperors represented in the earlier issue two reappear—Valentinian II and Theodosius. Valentinian's larger bust and "broken" legend have often caused him to be mistaken for his father; but Valentinian I never has this "Cuirass" type. A comparison of the three portraits on Pl. XX. 5, 6, 7 clearly shows their connexion in time.

There is also no possibility of confusion between the 1st and 2nd "Cuirass" issues. Valentinian II, apart from his portrait, has a well-marked difference of *obv.* legend, which is unbroken and contains IVN in the earlier, broken and without IVN in the later group, cf. Pl. XX. 2, 6. For Theodosius, whose earlier portrait I am unable to illustrate, a glance at the reverse will suffice to distinguish between the two issues. The V-shaped fold of her mantle on Rome's left shoulder is, I think, an infallible sign of the later. If ever it is shown in the earlier, it is merged in the rest of her drapery.

This issue is very rare and must, therefore, have been short and quickly supplanted by the common *Virtus Romanorum* with precisely similar type.

My illustrations have nearly all been taken from specimens in the British Museum. Besides the very

similar portraits by which the three Emperors are represented in Pl. XX. 5, 6, 7 there is another, seen for Theodosius only and shown in Pl. XX. 4. I know of only two varieties of reverse, one with barbed, the other with unbarbed, spear (or ? sceptre). The two portraits of Theodosius illustrated both occur in combination with each of the reverses from identical dies. For Valentinian I have seen only the barbed, for Arcadius only the unbarbed, variety. But I have seen very few.

The reverse of my own coin of Arcadius Pl. XX. 3 shows Rome seated on cuirass but framed in by the lines of the throne of Maximus' *Virtus Romanorum* type. Whether this is the result of an overstrike (which looks unlikely) or of a confusion in the die-cutter's mind between the types, it points to their being successive and not separated by the issue of the *Virtus Romanorum* with "Cuirass" type.

The late Baron v. Koblitz instances in his monograph on the Treveri mint, an *Urbs Roma* of Eugenius as in the keeping of the *Grünes Gewölbe* Museum at Dresden, but it cannot be traced there. So far, then, as my evidence goes, this issue of *Urbs Roma* from Treveri ends about 389, and until the closing of the mint after Eugenius, *Virtus Romanorum* alone was struck. There is no attested coin of Honorius from Treveri known to me (nor to v. Koblitz), but I possess a barbarous *siliqua* struck in his name with legend VRBZ-ROMA and mm. •TRPS.

Why without change of type the legend was changed again from *Urbs Roma* to *Virtus Romanorum* after this short issue, it seems idle to speculate, as another Gallic mint, Lugdunum, continued to strike *Urbs Roma*.

"VOTA" SILIQUAE OF GRATIAN STRUCK
AT TREVERI.

[Pl. XX. 8-20.]

At an Emperor's accession it was the custom to offer prayers, accompanied by vows, that the ensuing five years might be untroubled. On the completion of this, and of each succeeding *quinquennium* of the reign, the prayers and vows were renewed. Such occasions were regarded as high festivals and were marked by a special commemorative issue of the coinage. Sometimes these *vota* coins are so numerous that they must have supplied the main currency in their particular denomination; sometimes so rare—the currency, it would seem, being otherwise provided for—as to suggest that they were issued merely to comply with a traditional custom and that all *quinquennalia* unrecorded on the coins known to us must equally, to however limited an extent, have been commemorated in this way.

The meaning of the numerals on these coins is made quite clear to us from their occurrence on coins of Emperors who reigned for less than five years and reigned without colleagues, whose *vota* might be confused with their own. Jovian reigned for seven months only, but his coins with *Vot V* and *Vot V mult X* are common. It is evident that these were struck from the very beginning of his reign. Julian's coins are still more instructive. He was Caesar from Nov. 355 to Feb. 360, when he was proclaimed Augustus—nine months before he completed his first *quinquennium*. His coins as Caesar with *Vot V mult X* are common, as Augustus with the same *vota* even more common. We see from this

that *vota* coins were struck up to the end of the *quinquennium* to which they were appropriate. Julian, whose whole reign fell two years short of ten, follows up his *vota* V-X with *vota* X-XX. We must assume that other Emperors' *vota* coins are struck on the same principle of numbering and that any given number of *vota* dates a coin—not indeed to a certain year, but at least to a certain *lustrum*.

But a complication arises when an Emperor has colleagues. Each Emperor, when striking a reverse in his own name, would strike it also, by way of compliment, for his colleagues, so that, if it was a *vota* reverse, his own *vota* would appear on their coins. Further, when he struck in commemoration of their *vota*, he would similarly associate himself with them and appear with *vota* inappropriate to himself.

It is evident that when more than one Emperor is reigning the numerals on a *vota* coin are of no help in dating it, until we have determined by some other means to which Emperor they apply.

There are two groups of coins of this late fourth century which especially need to be viewed as a whole before they can be properly understood. One is the group of small *aes* ("Æ4") described by Cohen as PBQ,¹² in which within the space of four years Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius all have reverses with *vota* V, X-XX, and XX-XXX in the East, and the three first-named Emperors V-X and XV-XX in the West. Singly these coins might mislead, together they cannot.

¹² As Cohen's three grades GB, MB, PB are commonly described as First, Second, Third Brass (Æ¹, Æ², Æ³), it seems convenient to denote his fourth grade, which he calls PBQ, as Fourth Brass (Æ⁴).

The other group is the *siliquae* which, by the kindness of Sir Arthur Evans and the Keepers of the coin-departments in the British, the Berlin, Vienna, and Leningrad Museums, I am now enabled to illustrate. They were all struck at Treveri by Gratian subsequent to the death of Valentinian I.

1st Series. [Pl. XX. 8-14.]

Reverse. VOT-X-MVLT-XV in laurel wreath.

Obverses.

(a) With mint-mark TRPS.

1-4. DN VALEN-S PF AVG, bust diademed (with pearls), draped and cuirassed r.

Berlin [Pl. XX. 9]; Sir Arthur Evans coll. [Pl. XX. 10, 11]; Leningrad [Pl. XX. 12.]

(b) With mint-mark TRPS.

5. As nos. 1-4.

Vienna. [Pl. XX. 8.]

6, 7. DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG, bust as nos. 1-5.

T. W. Armitage coll. [Pl. XX. 14]; J. W. E. Pearce coll. [Pl. XX. 13].

Cohen does not give this reverse for Valens, nor with this mint-mark for Gratian.

This coin of Valens is extremely rare. Besides the five examples illustrated there is only one other known to me. It is in the British Museum. It is in poor condition and may be from the same dies as the Berlin coin. Gratian's coin, on the other hand, is by no means so rare. But as of my own three specimens two have identical obverse dies and one of these again has both dies identical with the British Museum example, it suggests that but few dies were used.

Four of Valens' coins illustrated have mint-mark

TRPS• and I am not sure that this is not intended on the fifth. All of Gratian that I have seen have TRPS. We know that the two mint-marks were used together and that TRPS was becoming less rare in the latest stage of the *Urbs Roma* "Throne" type with which these *vota* coins are contemporaneous.

The slight diversities in the treatment of the lower part of the wreaths are interesting. The two coins of Sir Arthur Evans (showing same reverse die) differ from the Berlin, Leningrad, and Vienna coins, which are alike. One of my coins of Gratian resembles the latter; the remaining two and Mr. Armitage's unite in a third variety, showing two vertical lines in the middle with an X-shaped cross on either side.

The portraits of Valens are astonishing in their diversity, but are all found with the reverse varieties "Triangle" and especially "Brush" of the *Urbs Roma* "Throne" type. The Berlin and Vienna specimens are evidently from the same *officina*, if not by the same hand. They can be compared with the portrait which passes over into the "Cuirass" issue [Pl. XIX. 26]. The Leningrad coin has obverse die-identity with an *Urbs Roma* ("Throne" type) of my own with "Brush" reverse.

Gratian's portrait on Mr. Armitage's coin has obverse die-identity with my *Urbs Roma* ("Throne" type) with "Brush" reverse, of which the obverse is shown in Pl. XIX. 15. All coins of Gratian that I have seen agree in giving him the "curls" portrait in its earliest and most engaging form, before its degeneration into either the "prettiness" or the "exaggerated aquilinity" of the "Cuirass" issue spoken of above.

It is clear from the portraits that this issue is

contemporary with the close of the first group of *Urbs Roma*. Valens had completed his *Decennium* in 374 and coins with *Vot XV mult XX* had already been struck for him at Siscia before Valentinian's death. The *vota*, then, are obviously Gratian's and these coins must have been struck before August 377, when the appropriate numerals would become *XV-XX*. How long before we can only conjecture. If Gratian's latest portrait began soon after he became the actual ruler of the West, we can perhaps date them early in 376 and connect them with a lost *V-X* in honour of the new Augustus, Valentinian II. An issue at Aquileia with *X-XX* for Valens and Gratian and *V-X* for Valentinian II rather supports this suggestion.

2nd Series. [Pl. XX. 15-17.]

Reverse. VOT-XV-MVLT-XX in wreath. Mm. TRPS.

Obverse. DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG, bust as in 1st series [Pl. XX. 15].

Reverse. VOT-V-MVLT-X in wreath. Mm. TRPS.

Obverses. 1. DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF A/G, bust as before. [Pl. XX. 16.]

2. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG, bust as before. [Pl. XX. 17.]

Gratian and Valentinian II are not given by Cohen with this mint-mark.

The reverses of Valentinian and Theodosius are from the same die. There is no difficulty about the *vota* here. Gratian's *XV-XX* would be appropriate at any time between Aug. 377 and Aug. 382; Valentinian's *V-X* between Nov. 375 and Nov. 380 and Theodosius' *V-X* between Jan. 379 and Jan. 384. There is no certainty but, I think, some probability that the issue

was struck in honour of the new Emperor Theodosius. If so, each of the three has his appropriate *vota*.

The rare *Perpetuetas* coins [Pl. XX. 21, 22] have obverse portraits closely resembling those of this issue and may perhaps be dated with it. The "phoenix" type would be appropriate. Under her Emperors Rome rises to renewed life after the shattering defeat of Valens at Hadrianople.

3rd Series. [Pl. XX. 18-20.]

Reverse. VOT-X-MVLTIS-XV in wreath. Mm. TR.

Obverse. 1. DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG, bust as before.
[Pl. XX. 18.]

2. DNTHEODO-SIVS PF AVG, bust as before.
[Pl. XX. 19.]

Reverse. VOT-XV-MVLTIS-XX in wreath. Mm. TR.

Obverse. DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG, bust as before.
Vienna. [Pl. XX. 20.]

The last coin is not in Cohen; the other two are Gratian C. 68 with *mult.* for *multis*; Theodosius I C. 67 with XX for XV.

These three coins clearly form a connected group. The first reverse is from the same die for Gratian and Theodosius but is appropriate to neither during their joint reign. Gratian's, taken by itself, would have to be dated before Aug. 377; Theodosius', taken by itself, would be later than Gratian's death. The innovations in legend and mint-mark suggest that this series is rightly placed after the second. Gratian, then, has lost, and Theodosius gained, a *quinquennium*. We are driven to the conclusion that the *vota* apply to Valentinian II, although his coin does not seem to have been found. We miss also a *Vot-V-multis-X* TR for Theodosius.

The known coins of this series are so rare that there is, perhaps, not much hope of recovering those that are missing. The corresponding coin of Gratian with his own *vota* [Pl. III. 20] exists, so far as I know, in this single example from Vienna.

The date of the group is given by the *vota* of Valentinian II as not earlier than Nov. 380 and by those of Gratian as not later than Aug. 382. The portrait of Gratian on his two coins—evidently by the same hand—bears a close likeness to that on some of his *Virtus Romanorum* coins, which, from slight peculiarities of detail in the reverse type, I am inclined to think are the earliest of that series. If I am not mistaken in supposing this connexion, and if the *Virtus Romanorum* can be dated to 382, as suggested above, our *vota* coins would be brought very near to the lower limit of the possible margin of date.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

XII.

THOMAS SIMON, "ONE OF OUR CHIEF GRAVERS".

THOMAS SIMON, of whom Oliver Cromwell said : "The man is ingenious and worthy of incouragem^t",¹ is perhaps the most celebrated English medallist of the seventeenth century, and needs no new biographer. But by the kindness of Dr. F. William Cock, who has given me some extracts concerning him from the private Minute Book² of Sir Edward Nicholas,

¹ Henfrey's *Numismata Cromwelliana*, p. 3.

² Sir Edward Nicholas's Minute Book of the Privy Council of Charles II, 1661 (2). The dates are according to old style. Edward Nicholas, b. 1573, d. 1669, was the eldest son of John Nicholas of Winterbourne Earls, Wilts., and Susan, daughter of William Hunton of Knoyle. Educated at Salisbury in the house of Sir Laurence Hyde, and afterwards at Winchester, he entered the Middle Temple in 1612, and in 1624 became secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, and was one of the Clerks of the Admiralty. In 1635 he was appointed Clerk of the Council, and in 1641 was made Principal Secretary of State to Charles I. After the king's death he went abroad, and in 1654 received the same appointment from Charles II, with whom he returned to England in 1660. He held the king's Privy Signet until October 15, 1662, when, owing to increasing infirmities in his later years, he resigned, but remained of the Privy Council until September 1669. The Minute Book, once the property of Sir Edward, and now in the collection of Dr. Cock, is labelled "Warrants and grants", and extends from the autumn of 1661 into the year 1662, the last entry sent to me being of April in that year. Dr. Cock tells me it is evidently made up of minutes taken at the time, the pages having been folded in four before binding in vellum. The folio has an index and a portrait of Nicholas bound in. Some of Sir Edward's minutes are calendared in the State Papers Domestic of 1661-2 and Treasury Books-Calendar running from 1660-7.

Secretary of State to Charles II, certain documentary evidence has reached me throwing light on the most debatable points of Simon's career. This manuscript note-book covers a considerable part of the years 1661-1662, when the recoinage of the Commonwealth money was urgent and the king was on the horns of a dilemma, anxious to recompense those who had faithfully served his father, but averse to any delay in putting forth a new regal coinage. These facts justify a further essay, and I hope to be permitted to print the notes in full, in the form of an Appendix in our *Chronicle*, although they appear in most cases in the less easily accessible pages of Entry Book V at the Public Record Office. Of one I have found no trace, although when I was writing my article³ on the Portraiture of the Stuarts, in 1909, I made a fairly close study of the Treasury manuscripts. The minutes of the Privy Council occasionally appear in the Calendars of Treasury Books, but have not been separately published of the date with which we are dealing. Such Entry Books as I have seen do not appear to be exact duplicates of Sir Edward Nicholas's minutes.

The extracts sent to me by Dr. Cock include orders to Simon for a seal for the Council of Wales, October 23, 1661,⁴ and, on November 8 following, a pass to go abroad to fetch Blondeau in preparation for the milled coinage.⁵ On the ensuing January 31⁶ and February 3⁷ Simon is desired to prepare coin-dies "for ye New

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v, pp. 145-261 et seq.

⁴ Nicholas's Minute Book, p. 14; Calendar State Papers Dom., 1661-2, p. 121; Entry Book V. 14.

⁵ Nicholas, p. 39; Cal. S.P.D., p. 140; Entry Book V. 40.

⁶ Nicholas, p. 145; Cal. S.P.D., p. 260; Entry Book V. 148.

⁷ Nicholas, p. 145; Cal. S.P.D., p. 264; Entry Book V. 148.

Coyne". On February 7⁸ the contest of skill between himself and the brothers Roettiers is commanded, with the following day, February 8, the grant of Briot's house within the Tower wherein to work.⁹ On February 28 it is, however, permitted that the blanks of gold for the "New Coyne" according to the specific design for the 20s. piece may be rolled at St. Katharines *neere*, not within, the Tower.¹⁰ And finally on April 8, 1662, an order is issued to continue making 20s. and 10s. pieces according to the last hammered issue from the "Seizell" because there were not enough dies ready for the "Presse and Screw".¹¹

I have said that Thomas Simon does not lack biographers. Apart from contemporaries with whom he was not *persona grata*, as they saw in him one who had served the Commonwealth rather than the Royalist cause, the writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have bestowed upon his career much research, usually tending to fair criticism. But we cannot afford to overlook the remarks of Pepys and Evelyn, the diarists of his own day, and from the latter we may glean that there was a feeling that the artist had died a disappointed man. George Vertue,¹² Simon's chief biographer, writing less than 100 years after his hero's

⁸ Nicholas, p. 152; Cal. S.P.D., p. 268; Entry Book V. 154.

⁹ Nicholas, p. 152. This is not calendared in S.P.D.

¹⁰ Nicholas, pp. 178-9; Cal. S.P.D., p. 290; Entry Book V. 185.

¹¹ Nicholas, p. 230; Cal. S.P.D., p. 334; Entry Book V. 244.

¹² Vertue's *Medals, Coins, and Great Seals, and other Works of Thomas Simon*, published originally on November 17, 1753, was followed in 1780 by a fuller edition by Richard Gough with several valuable appendices by Charles Combe and S. Alchorne, of which the most important is Simon's account for works performed between 1660 and 1665—Appendix V, pp. 85-95.

death, is so anxious to attribute to him every piece of work which he considers to be of artistic value that he claims for him certain military badges hardly worthy of his skill. But as Thomas Simon was a trading goldsmith it is, indeed, possible that these may have been the output of his shop. Again, Vertue was prepared for rather uneven work, because, owing to the supposed date of Simon's birth, great finish could not be expected from so young a man at the opening of the Civil War. Amongst the valuable appendices to Vertue's book we must cite No. IV, because it is always quoted as proof that Simon was displaced from office, when on the 24th day of January, 1661-2, he was desired "to bring in and deliver to the officers of his Majesties Mynt, all such counter-puncheons, charges, letters, and dyes, and all other tools and engines for coining, by way of the press or hammer, as he hath in his custody". This order, as I propose to show, has been misunderstood and was in reality only a repetition of an injunction in the Indenture of 1660 and a prelude to the grant of a workshop within the Tower.¹³

But I am going too fast. Let us first glance at the other evidence produced by writers of the nineteenth century. Henry Henfrey's¹⁴ interest in the portraiture of Oliver Cromwell makes his *Numismata Cromwelliana* a mine of information, but he was preceded in the *Numismatic Chronicle* by Clement Taylor Smythe¹⁵ and Bernard Nightingale¹⁶ with articles containing

¹³ Indenture of 1660, see Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 18759, f. 8 B, "the graver shall not grave elsewhere than in our house in the Tower".

¹⁴ *Numismata Cromwelliana*, published in 1877.

¹⁵ *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. v, pp. 161-72, published 1842-3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, 1841-2, pp. 211-32.

respectively the artist's last "Will and Testament" and the claims put forth by his widow some years after his death for the payment of his bill, with which Appendix V of Vertue's book has made us familiar. Nightingale is amongst the earlier writers on Thomas Simon and his view of the situation is most lucid.

Coming to our own times, we have not only Mr. W. J. Hocking's excellent article on "Simon's Dies in the Royal Mint Museum",¹⁷ but also Mr. Symonds's notice on "The English Mint Engravers", and his *Pyx Trials of the Commonwealth, Charles II, and James II*,¹⁸ and Mr. Forrer's carefully considered monograph in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, whilst Mr. Warwick Wroth in 1909 gave us an admirable account of Thomas Simon in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XVIII, p. 266. From the technical point of view Mr. Henry Webb¹⁹ in 1879, and Mr. T. H. B. Graham in 1911²⁰ have assisted us in a careful study of the hammered coinage of Charles II, endeavouring to place in sequence the output of the smaller pieces and rightly attributing to Simon the transition from hammer to press and screw. Last but not least we have an article²¹ by Colonel Morrieson, battling more successfully with the problem of the little coins. With these I have myself dealt in my article on "The Royal Charities" in the *British Numismatic Journal*,²² which will appear in vol. XX.

¹⁷ *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. ix, 1909, pp. 56-118.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Fourth Series, vol. xiii, 1913, and vol. xv, 1915.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, New Series, vol. xix, *Remarks on the Early Coins of Charles II*, pp. 92-8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Fourth Series, vol. xi, pp. 57-79.

²¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv, pp. 117-89.

²² *Ibid.*, vol. xx.

It is to this small currency, the product of the press and screw erroneously confounded with the Maundy issues, that Simon refers in his last account, rendered in April 1665, only a few months before his death. He writes, making a charge of £35, that he "altered the stamps for the four-pence, three-pence, two-pence and penny, by way of the mill, wherein I and my servants wrought two months".²³ This assertion shatters at a blow the tradition that after 1662 he did no further work upon the English coinage. The fact that he continued to supply dies for the "Coynes of Scotland" is also stated in this account, "eight severall sorts of coynes for gold and silver money", and has never been disputed, but these appear according to his own admission to have been unfinished as regards the gold at the time the account was rendered. "I have", he says, "only delivered the silver stamps, and must reckon for them as for those of England made by the mill. I have not made all the arms of the gold, which I reckon not."²⁴

But before entering on the new evidence let us review the life of Thomas Simon so far as we know it, although by so doing we at once raise a controversial problem on the question of the year of his birth.

Thomas Simon, Symon, Symons, or Symonds, as his name is variously spelt in the manuscripts of the seventeenth century—Thomas Simon as he himself

²³ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, &c.*, ed. 1780, Appendix V, p. 95. There are two or more copies of this account; one in the collection of Dr. Cock I have had the privilege of examining minutely. Another copy was recently sold at auction, and was more distinctly dated, otherwise they are identical. That printed by Gough in Appendix V was supplied by S. Alchorne of the Mint.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91. See also Charles Maitland's receipt, p. 72*.

spelt his surname on his Petition Crown and in signing his Will—was the son of one Peter or Pierre Simon, a native of London, who on September 12, 1611, married Anne, daughter of Gilles Germain of Guernsey,²⁵ in the Walloon Church in Threadneedle Street,²⁶ a community with which our artist appears to have preserved his connexion, in that we find in his Will a bequest of £3 “to the French Church, of which I am a member”. In another part of this document he describes himself as of the parish of St. Clement Danes in London, and to this church he makes the larger legacy of £5, desiring to be buried there, for there reposed two of his children whom he had earlier lost. He further mentions that he is a “Citizen and Goldsmith of London, somewhat infirme in body, but of sound and p̄fect mind and memory”.²⁷

Simon was obviously British born, and like his father he sought his wife in the Channel Islands, marrying Elizabeth daughter and sole heiress of Cardin Fautrart of Guernsey;²⁸ these islands were then, as now, part of the British Isles. There is no confirmation of the tradition reported by Folkes and Vertue that he was a Yorkshireman. The date of his birth is uncertain, and I am strongly of opinion that

²⁵ Mr. Warwick Wroth in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁶ The Walloon, or French Church as it was also called, was a congregation of strangers who had fled from religious persecution in the Netherlands and France. Queen Elizabeth is said to have granted them the undercroft of the Cathedral at Canterbury, and it is probably to this branch that Simon bequeathed £3, as he had property in Canterbury, and it was there that his Will was proved; see *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. v, pp. 163-5 and 172.

²⁷ *Num. Chron.*, vol. v, p. 167.

²⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xviii.

he was the eldest rather than the second son of Peter Simon mentioned above, who in his turn is described as having been born "in Blackfriars and trading beyond seas sonne of one Peter Simon subject of the French King" included in the list of persons "in the Walbrook Warde desiring denizenship".²⁹

It has been generally supposed that Abraham Simon was the elder brother of our Thomas, perhaps on account of Abraham's appearance in his spirited waxen self-portrait, hastily sketched on glass, which certainly looks older than the companion medallion portraying Thomas. But Abraham, described by Evelyn when he met him in 1653 as "a virtuoso fantastical Symons, who had the talent of embossing so to the life",³⁰ probably exaggerated his own unkempt appearance, of which he was notoriously proud, and it is much modified in a rare silver cliché in the British Museum and the later medallion based thereon. The companion portrait of Thomas shows him as a prim Puritan.³¹ A certain Abraham Semon (note the spelling *e* for *i*), "born in Bishopgate Warde" in London in 1618, a subject of K[ing] J[ames], appears in the above mentioned list and in the general disregard of orthography then practised may be our Abraham. If this be the case I should be inclined partly to agree

²⁹ See *List of Foreigners resident in England, 1618-1688*, Camden Society, vol. lxxxii, edited by W. Durrant Cooper in 1862, quoting State Papers Domestic, James I, vol. 102, p. 38.

³⁰ Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 64, June 9, 1653.

³¹ *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, vol. i, p. 512, no. 154, and p. 513, no. 155. The originals, dated by Vertue An^o 1663, were in the collection of Mr. D. Haggard, and are now in the British Museum. They are silver clichés, and must not be confounded with the later copies attributed to Stuart.

with Mr. Clement Taylor Smythe, who in the pedigree he gives of the Simons, basing his order on the sequence in the will of Thomas, places the testator first, then Nathaniel, who predeceased his brother, then Laurence, evidently the scapegrace of the family, Abraham fourth, and Peter the fifth, whilst Hannah, married firstly to one Yates and then to one Massey, completes Mr. Smythe's list of the family.³² I say *partly* to agree only, for Thomas Simon, who had only one delicate son, was anxious to establish his landed property in Kent and Middlesex in the male line and therefore, failing heirs male by this son Samuel or by his own daughters, bequeathed the reversion to William, the son of Nathaniel. Peter comes into the succession before Abraham, who had only daughters, and Laurence was cut off with a weekly pension of 2s. 6d. and a contingent payment of his debts. It seems, therefore, that the Will is no sure guide to the order of the family. But if I may be forgiven these details, it is to excuse myself for differing from so great an authority as the late Mr. Warwick Wroth, who in the *Dictionary of National Biography* places with a query the birth of Abraham in 1622 (?) and that of Thomas in 1623 (?), for on a question of art production I cannot think the first signed work by the artist can be from the hand of a lad of fifteen—namely the seal made for Algernon Percy, Earl of

³² Simon's daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, shared with his son in certain moneys and also various bequests, one of special interest being the reversion of his tools, puncheons, and dies to William should Samuel grow up unable to follow his father's art. The Will is published in full in *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. v, pp. 167-72.

Northumberland, as Lord High Admiral in 1638 or even according to Vertue yet earlier,³³ and a document of May 27, 1637, is stamped with a seal thought to be by Simon. Neither does it seem possible that the series of Scottish Rebellion medals of 1639, variously signed S. and S.T. and very highly finished, can have emanated from a boy aged sixteen, although he had enjoyed the tuition of Briot from 1635—some say 1633.³⁴ If we may, again with a query, in default of further evidence, advance a likely date for Thomas Simon's birth, why not 1612 or 1613, seeing that his parents were married in September 1611?

But let us pass to Simon's employment at the Tower Mint during the lifetime of Charles I. We may wonder whether he was ever particularly attached to the King's cause—true there is a tiny badge portraying the King and Queen,³⁵ of such poor workmanship that only the signature justifies its claim to be by Simon, a claim substantiated by a little trial piece in lead and one splendid impression of Charles I's bust on a thick flan, both in my collection. But the dress suggests a period before the outbreak of hostilities, whilst Simon was still working under Green and Briot at

³³ Northumberland was Admiral in 1636-7, the date to which Vertue attributes the seal, but was made Lord High Admiral on March 30, 1638. See *Calendar of State Papers, 1637-8*, and *Dictionary of National Biography*. See also Vertue, p. 1, and *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. iv, p. 231.

³⁴ *Med. III.*, vol. i, pp. 282-3, nos. 90-4. The dated unsigned example, no. 90, may be by Briot, but even so those made by Simon celebrate the pacification of June 18, 1639, and cannot be much later.

³⁵ *Med. III.*, vol. i, p. 363, no. 241, with royal arms reverse; also p. 362, no. 338, and with the queen, p. 358, no. 226, but only 241 and 226 in lead bear the artist's initials.

the Mint. It is generally assumed on technical grounds that the dies for finer coins of the Tower after the Parliament had seized the Mint were engraved by our artist. I believe we recognize his hand and lettering in the shillings (P) and (Eye) of 1643, 1644, and 1645, of which two specially fine proofs are in the British Museum—and it is assumed that the equestrian figure on the crown, initial mark Sun, should be attributed to him in 1645–7. It is scarcely fair to impute to him the general issues of a coinage which went from bad to worse, any old die being made to serve until, after the death of the king in January 1648–9, the royal portraiture was abandoned. Briot had, so long as he lived—he died in 1646—helped the king by stealth.

Simon was a Puritan and frankly on the side of the Parliamentary party, although after the Restoration he put forth his claim to forgiveness on the plea that he had been Engraver to the Mint in the lifetime of Charles I.³⁶ He was, however, not then *Sole Chief Graver*, but held letters patent with a colleague, Edward Wade, from April 1645. Wade did not live beyond the end of 1648 and in April 1649, with John East and Nicholas Burgh as undergravers, Thomas Simon was made chief graver by the Parliament.³⁷ The coinage, when the royal type was discontinued, was of singularly unfortunate design and poor execution, but we need not impute it entirely to Simon, who was greatly occupied in making seals and was no doubt assisted by East and Burgh in making the Parliamentary coinage.

³⁶ Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1660–1, p. 11, no. 109.

³⁷ *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. xiii, p. 368.

He had already been called upon in 1643³⁸ to replace the Great Seal of Charles I which the Lord Keeper Littleton had carried to the King at York.³⁹ And when in 1649⁴⁰ a fresh seal showing the Parliament in session was ordered, he was allowed less than a month in which to execute it, so that it was necessary for a new one to be made in 1651.⁴¹

His foot was now upon the ladder, for in 1651 he was selected to make the portrait medal of Oliver,⁴² when the General expressed the high opinion of him with which I opened this article—"The man is ingenious and worthy of encouragement".

Simon was a portraitist before all else and Cromwell desired for him the position that Briot had held under Charles I,⁴³ practically that of the king's medallist, and this position Oliver, when Lord Protector, was able to confer in 1654-5 in a patent of £13 6s. 8d. (twenty marks) per annum for the sole making of all medals for his Highness and the public service and the chains to the said medals.⁴⁴ It was now that he made the fine equestrian portrait of Oliver on the Great Seal,⁴⁵ followed in 1657 by another which in its turn was altered in 1658 to serve for Richard Cromwell. On July 9, 1656,⁴⁶ he was accorded £30 per annum as

³⁸ Wyon's *Great Seals*, p. 89, Pl. XXIX.

³⁹ Wyon, Pl. XXVIII.

⁴⁰ Wyon, p. 90, and Pl. XXX.

⁴¹ Wyon, p. 92, and Pl. XXXI.

⁴² The Dunbar medal. *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 391, no. 13.

⁴³ Henfrey, pp. 31 and 35. Cromwell's letters, Feb. 15 and 16 and March 6, 16, and 20, 1654-5.

⁴⁴ To the years 1650 and 1653 we owe Simon's *chef-d'œuvre*, the magnificent naval awards with the accompanying chains. *Med. Ill.*, pp. 398-400, nos. 12, 26 to 29, especially 26.

⁴⁵ Wyon, pp. 96, 97, and 98, Pls. XXXII, XXXIII, and XXXIV.

⁴⁶ Henfrey, p. 36, and Vertue, Appendix, pp. 67-72.

Sole Chief Graver of the Mint and Seals with retrospective salary from March 25, 1655, the puncheons and dies carrying a very large extra payment representing a considerable income. Further patents followed and Simon was empowered to use the implements "in the Tower or elsewhere", a most unusual privilege, and to choose his own "Under Graver" and "Sinkers of the Irons". How far he received the payments due to him for the work he executed under Cromwell I am unable to state. But Mr. Warwick Wroth implies that the usual difficulties presented themselves when in January 1657-8 he sent in to the Treasury an account for £1,728 5s. 6d., of which sum he had received part payment of £700 in 1655. And in November 1658 he prays for the balance, saying that he and his servants have wrought five years and "the interest I have to pay for gold and silver eats up my profits".⁴⁷

As these claims included the dies for his medallic coinage with the portrait of Oliver, hailed by many as the Protector's bid for the Crown, it is likely that, if still unpaid, the artist would be prudent enough to drop all reference to them at the Restoration, for these patterns were not the least of his crimes towards the monarchy. His act in making the Great Seals was, however, treasonable in law and for this he humbly implored pardon in 1660 "because by order of Parliament he made their Great Seal in 1643 and was their chief graver of Mint and Seals".⁴⁸

We must remember that when Charles II arrived in

⁴⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xviii. See also *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. ix, "Simon's Dies", by W. J. Hocking.

⁴⁸ Cal. State Papers Domestic, 1660, no. 109, p. 11, *Petitions*. Simon asks for pardon and for the place of chief graver.

England in May 1660, having granted an amnesty for all political offences, excepting such as Parliament should reserve for judgement, he thereby transferred to the representatives of the People the odium of punishing his Father's murderers. But he still found himself in a difficult position towards nearly all holders of office.

Thomas Simon, under the Commonwealth, was "Sole Chiefe Graver of Irons", "Chiefe Engraver of Mynt and Seales", and by Cromwell's appointment maker of all official medals, with a special salary attached. He had worked under Briot, and Blondeau had assisted him and furthered his knowledge of "Mill and Presse", and Charles wished for a coinage "struck within a collar". Therefore, on May 31, 1661, Simon received a grant of the office of "one of the Engravers of the King's arms, shields and stamps".⁴⁹ No other place could be given him, and even this was a great concession, for, after the death of Briot, which occurred shortly before that of his master, Charles I, the latter had conferred upon Rawlins in March, 1647-8, the patent of *Sole* Chiefe Engraver in recognition of his services during the Civil War, when, from 1643 onward, he had worked unremittingly for the King.⁵⁰

Rawlins was already designated by Charles I, in an official document at the College of Arms, on June 1, 1643, "Our graver of Seals Stamps and Medals", and in April 1645 the King had, by royal warrant, formally made him "chief graver in the Tower of London and elsewhere in England and Wales", the former

⁴⁹ Cal. State Papers Dom. 1660-1, p. 599, docquet.

⁵⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xvii, under Rawlins, by Warwick Wroth.

holder of this office by the King's appointment, Edward Greene, having died at the end of 1644.⁵¹ The appointment of March, 1647-8, was therefore a mere ratification, or a protest on the part of Charles I at the Parliamentary appointment of Simon. The captive King had no power to bestow more than this patent as a parting gift. But Charles II could not disregard his Father's patent, and Rawlins was granted a residence, enjoyed the title of "His Majesty's Chief Engraver", and, in July, 1660, was engaged in making official seals for Ireland and Wales.⁵² An order in June, 1660, is calendared in the State Papers for the making of irons for coining money and is worded "to cause Thomas Rawlins, Chief Graver, to grave the King's effigies thereon",⁵³ but excepting a few farthings no coins have been placed to his credit, and it is possible the order was not carried out. He had lived through stormy times of poverty and stress and, according to Evelyn, was no longer the strenuous worker of the Civil War days. Be this as it may, he clearly did not suffice for the new coinage, although he enjoyed the title of "Sole Chiefe Graver", with the salary of

⁵¹ See details in "Nicholas Briot and the Civil War", *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. xiv, p. 235, and *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiii, p. 369.

⁵² Cal. State Papers Dom. 1660-1, pp. 78 and 299. Petition from Thomas Rawlins, "His Majesty's Chief Engraver". Bill for making six seals between July 30 and Sept. 24, 1660, passed by the Privy Seal April 13, 1663. Payment by docquet £274 2s. 6d., August 27, 1663. See also *ibid.*, 1663-4, pp. 109 and 257.

⁵³ Cal. State Papers Dom. 1660-1, p. 78, but Mr. Symonds in his "English Mint Engravers", *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. xv, states that this is only a draft without stamp. See, however, Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660-7, and Early Entry Book I, p. 13.

£30 a year, and the Treasury Papers inform us that on July 7, 1660, "Thomas Rawlins" is "restored to his place as graver of the Mint". Thomas Simon, who was in actual possession at the Mint, had to content himself with the title of "one of his Majesty's chief gravers", with a salary of £50⁵⁴ a year, and he thus describes himself four years later in his last account, presented to the Treasury in April 1665.⁵⁵ This was the position Briot had held at the Mint. Simon's deprivation, if such we may call it (for he still held the higher salary although the lower title), came automatically with the Restoration, and the later coming of the Roettiers cannot be said to have deprived him of an office he had never held under the Crown. The work of the seals was divided between him and Rawlins—but even before the introduction of the eagerly desired produce of the Mill and Press, these two did not cope with the situation in regard to the coinage. The calling in of the Harp and Cross money brooked no delay and, although the decried money was slow in coming in, Pepys remarking even so late as 1663 that two-thirds of it was not yet recoined,⁵⁶ the hammered issues were hurried on as quickly as possible.

The reiterated appeals to Simon to set aside all other business and attend to the dies were often disregarded. Vertue has made us familiar with the order of August 10, 1660, addressed in the King's name to the Master and

⁵⁴ Cal. State Papers Dom. 1660-1, vol. xxxvi, p. 59, docquet. See also Vertue, ed. 1780, p. 55, quoting Office Book in the Rolls Chapel, "to succeed Nicholas Briot defunct". See also *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. ii, p. 198, and *ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 222.

⁵⁵ Vertue, Appendix V.

⁵⁶ *Diary*, May 19, 1663, "only 500,000 brought in out of the 750,000 of the Harp and Crosse".

Workers of the Mint, that "Thomas Symonds should at once prepare the patterns and irons with our effigies titles and inscriptions according to such directions and commands as ye shall receive from Us". On the 18th of the month comes the complaint of the Lords of the Treasury that: "Mr. Symonds had not yet fitted the stamps and tools that were of necessary and present use..." The Lords Commissioners desired that "a peremptory and absolute order . . . be sent to Mr. Simonde . . . that he should forbear all other services until he hath perfected all things . . . for setting the Mint presently at worke".⁵⁷ This seemsto have stung Simon into action, for Snelling tells us that between July 20, 1660, the date of the first Indenture, and December 31 following, silver was actually coined up to the weight of 543 lbs.⁵⁸ And as the value mark was ordered on the coins in November 1661 we may, I think, fairly assume that Simon produced a sufficiency of dies for the output of silver known as the first type in 1660. But, as Snelling tells us, the output in 1661 was much larger, namely, 74,841 lbs. weight and, apart from the change above noted, more dies were required. On September 21, 1661, another order is addressed personally to Simon as "one of Our cheife gravers" by Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, desiring the artist "laying aside all other occasions you forthwith prepare the original or master puncheons . . . for Our gold and silver coins".⁵⁹ And Sir Edward Nicholas's note-book contains on

⁵⁷ Vertue, Appendix I and Appendix II.

⁵⁸ Snelling, *View of the Silver Coin*, p. 54. For the indenture see Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 18757, no. 126 f. 8 B.

⁵⁹ Vertue, Appendix III.

January 31, 1661-2,⁶⁰ a further warrant to the same effect, whilst "a like warrant to Thomas Symons to make stamps for the new Coyne",⁶¹ i.e. "by press and screw", under date February 3, 1661-2, points to the beginning of the so-called milled coinage for which Evelyn, as he relates in his *Diary*, had on the 10th of the preceding January watched "Mr. Cooper ye rare limner crayonning of ye King's face to make stamps for the new mill'd money now contriving". The order of the previous September may, however, refer to extra dies for the gold and silver "according to the hammer"—for Simon says he employed three assistant workmen for "making dozens of piles and tressells at 5s. per diem" at a total expense of £60 in wages alone. He, in his account, charges £280 "for fourteen several original stamps by way of the hamer, viz. the crown, the half-crown, the shilling, the sixpence, the fourpence, the threepence, the twopence, the penny and the halfpenny in silver; and for gold, the twenty, the ten, and the five shilling pieces, and the angel Piece". The angel, together with the silver crown and the halfpenny as far as we may ascertain, were not utilized, although Vertue gives under date September 18, 1660, a warrant that "the stamps for Our Angell Gold according to the patterns herein expressed" should be forthwith prepared.⁶² Some of the smaller silver denominations

⁶⁰ Extract from Sir Edward Nicholas's Manuscript Minute Book and of the Privy Council of Charles II, p. 145, 1661 old style, and, therefore, according to our present mode of dating, 1662. See also State Papers Domestic, Jan. 31, 1662, p. 260; Entry Book V, p. 148; and *ibid.* 48, p. 3.

⁶¹ Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1662, p. 264.

⁶² Vertue, p. 89, Appendix V, for these and other dies of the hammered first coinage, also p. 70* and Pl. XXXIX, figs. D and E

continued until 1666, being slowly superseded by the product of the press and screw, and after this date I have seen no mention of hammered silver in the Mint Rolls.⁶³ A very large output "by way of the hammer" of the newly ordered groats and threepenny pieces from "silver lately from France" accounts partly for the continued striking of hammered coins in January and February 1662-3, which must have been issued until Simon had perfected his dies for small coins "by way of the mill" mentioned in his last account. Half groats and pennies, and even sixpences, were also issued.⁶⁴

We have seen that Simon was commanded to prepare his dies for the new coin in January and February 1661-2 and at the end of the month, "the last day of February 1661-2", i.e. in that year, February 28. Sir Edward Nicholas's Minute Book gives a long description of the new "twenty shilling peeces Lesse in compasse than formerly for better taking of the Impression of the Stampes, but with Our Figure and Incriptions upon them as usual with Our Armes quartered as anciently in

both obverse and reverse. I have a trial piece of the reverse of this angel. If the halfpenny was of new design it has not survived, and it is usually assumed that this type of Charles I was coined for a time. It is mentioned in the indenture of 1660; see Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 18759, f. 5 B. Gough, the editor of Vertue's second edition, says on p. 70* that the warrant for the angel is unsigned.

⁶³ Declared Accounts 1601, Roll 55, show that between Jan. 1, 1660, and Dec. 20, 1666, the hammered silver amounted to 7,513 lb. weight, more than half the output.

⁶⁴ State Papers, Jan. 12 and 16, 1662-3, pp. 9 and 15. Sixpences were permitted as an alternative in the "form of warrant for preparation of tools, &c., for making new groats and threepences by way of the hammer & for making coins of value one, two, three, four, or sixpence".

plain Escutchion adding the yeare of Our Lorde above the Crowne upon the Armes and leaving out the letter C on the one side & the letter R on the other side of the Escutchion of Our Armes". The coins were to be "according to ye standard of Our Crowne Gold in weight and fineness". In order to expedite matters permission was given to roll the blanks in the mill at St. Katherines *neere* the Tower in the presence of an officer of the Mint.⁶⁵ Here we have Simon's beautiful twenty-shilling piece,⁶⁶ but he was dilatory, and on April 8 we have the old cry that "the dyes made by Thomas Symons" ... "by way of the Presse and Screw" ... "hitherto proved insufficient". Consequently Parkhurst, Freeman, and Slingsby are desired to coin "by Way of the Hammer the seizell and defective peeces of such gold as Our servant Stephen Fox hath delivered into Our Mynt into peeces of 20s. and 10s. with marks of valuaçon &c."⁶⁷

It had now become a matter of urgency to obtain assistance, and so early as November 8, 1661, Simon had obtained a "passe to goe and returne from France about His Maj^s Service with his Servants and necessarys".⁶⁸ For this Service, i.e. to make arrangements concerning the coming over of Blondeau, Simon stated that he had spent £30 and a month's time and asked £65, a charge which was taxed as too high when his

⁶⁵ Sir Edward's Minute Book, p. 179. See also Cal. State Papers Dom. 1661-2, p. 290, Feb. 28, 1662; Entry Book V, p. 185.

⁶⁶ Simon charged £45 in his account for the stamps of the twenty-shilling pieces, and says that his servants and he worked nine or ten weeks upon them. Vertue, Appendix V, p. 89.

⁶⁷ Sir Edward Nicholas's Manuscript, p. 230. See also Cal. State Papers Domestic, 1662, p. 334; Entry Book V, p. 244.

⁶⁸ Nicholas, p. 39; Cal. S. P. D. 1661, p. 140; Entry Book V, p. 40.

widow sent in her claims after the death of her husband.⁶⁹ The arrival of Blondeau was somewhat delayed; premises in the Mint had to be cleared. The widow of David Ramage, late superintendent of the Mills under the Commonwealth, refused to vacate in favour of Blondeau but was ejected in November 1662; and in the meantime John, Joseph, and Philip Roettiers had arrived and had been promised "a convenient Dwelling House".⁷⁰

Pepys, writing concerning the hammered coinage on February 18, 1660-1, in his *Diary*, foreshadowed its supersession by the "Presse and Screw", for he remarks that Mr. Slingsby, then deputy master of the Mint, had "shown him the stamps for the King's new coyne; which is strange to see how good they are in the stamp and bad in the money for lack of skill to make them. But he says that Blondeau will shortly come over and then we shall have it better and the best in the world".⁷¹ As regards the realization of this promise we read on Nov. 24, 1662, that Pepys again visited the Mint, accompanying the King and the Duke of York, "when", he writes, "Mr. Slingsby did show the King, and I did see, the stamps of the new money that is now to be made by Blondeau's fashion, which are very neat, and like the King". And again on March 9, 1662-3: "There dined with us to-day Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, who showed us all the new pieces both gold and silver (examples of them all)

⁶⁹ Vertue, Appendix V, and *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. iv, pp. 211-32.

⁷⁰ Cal. State Papers Domestic, May 19, 1662, p. 378; Entry Book 7, p. 69.

⁷¹ *Diary*, vol. i, Lord Braybrooke's edition, pp. 178-9.

that were made for the King by Blondeau's way; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by Symons, and of the King by one Rotyr, a German,⁷² I think, that dined with us also. He extolls those of Rotyr above the others; and indeed I think they are the better because the sweeter of the two; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like in my mind than the King's, but both very well worth seeing." Ruding, in his Volume II, p. 10, definitely tells us that the coins were proclaimed current on March 27, 1663, and it is obvious that by the time of Pepys's visit on the 9th (or even earlier, seeing that the coinage began on Feb. 6) the question of the busts on the new coinage was a foregone conclusion; for the date 1662 is on the crowns with the rose, the first of these milled coins to be issued for circulation with Roettiers's portrait of the King. His pattern with the undraped bust also bears the date 1662, whilst the famous Petition Crown is dated 1663.

Rightly to understand the oft-told tale of the Trial of Skill we must go back to the 7th day of February,

⁷² The Roettiers family were Flemish, and it has been suggested that Charles II was indebted to them for services before his Restoration (Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 184) for which he was unable to pay. I have suggested elsewhere (*Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. v, pp. 233-4) that the Great Seal made for Charles II in 1653 for use before the Restoration (Wyon, xxxvi, p. 104) might be from the hand of John Roettiers, for the Counter Seal bears a great resemblance to that made by Roettiers in 1672 to replace Simon's of 1663, then too much worn for further use (Wyon, xxxviii, p. 106, replacing Simon's, Wyon, xxxvii, p. 105). Clarendon, however, believed that the Seal of 1653 (Wyon, xxxvi) was made in France, and Charles did not get to Antwerp until 1654 (see Clarendon, Book xiv, p. 69), but John Roettiers was in touch with France.

1661-2, when permission for the contest was first accorded. "Tho: Symon, one of Our Chief gravers and also John and Joseph Roettiers gravers" were commanded "to make Stamps for Our Moneys by way of the Presse". They were instructed that they should "severally first make a triall peece of 5 Shillings in Silver according to Each other (*sic*) draughts of heads and arms shewed unto Us with all convenient speed that may be". They were not to be overseen or disturbed "in their worke untill ye same shalbee perfected & presented to Us for Our judgm^t".⁷³ To achieve this privacy Thomas Simon was to be "forthth put in possession of the dwelling house and outhouse that Nich. Briott deceased enjoyed", and that "the same be forthwith clered and fitted with worke rooms and other accommodaçon for immediate dispatch of these services".⁷⁴ The order bears date the following day, i.e. February the 8th, and is of great interest as showing that Simon was given a workroom within the Mint in compensation for the order issued a fortnight before concerning bringing his "counter-puncheons, charges, letters and dyes and all other tools and engines for coining"⁷⁵ into the Tower. Briot's house was really the residence to which Simon's position entitled him, but it required some repair as we learn from a report of the year 1656, when it had been, under the Commonwealth, suggested as a residence for

⁷³ Nicholas's Minute Book, p. 152; Cal. State Papers Domestic, Feb. 7, 1661-2, p. 268; and Entry Book V, p. 154. The words "Each other draughts" seems to be an error made by the clerk copying from the warrant, perhaps for "each of their draughts", unless possibly "other" here means *different* or *separate*.

⁷⁴ Nicholas's Minute Book as above, but not mentioned by the Calendarer.

⁷⁵ Vertue, Appendix IV.

Blondeau⁷⁶ but had been rejected by him on that account. It is clear that Charles II recognized the proficiency of the Roettiers in their craft although they lacked the genius of Simon, but the long-delayed recoin-ing of the Harp and Cross, and still more the enormous recoinages of 1662 and 1663, about 21 and 12 times respectively larger than that of the preceding year 1661, speak of the necessity for speeding the silver issues beyond the powers of one engraver, however great, and Simon's time was much taken up with medallic matters. I might suggest that Charles had hoped the artists would work in amity, but in April 1662 "the officers of the Mint did then also certify that by reason of a contest in art between them they had found it difficult to bring them to any agreement".⁷⁷ Thus came about the struggle for the chief place, but, as we have seen, it was almost a year before the decision was brought into action.

The story of the contest is too well known to need repetition. John Evelyn,⁷⁸ with personal knowledge of the artist and without undue prejudice, appears to regret the disappointment of Simon, "who having been deservedly employ'd at the Mint at the Tower was not willing to be supplanted by Foreign Competitors".

⁷⁶ Henfrey, p. 92, Sept. 1656, "that house in the Tower where M^{rs}ieur Briott did formerly worke". Blondeau was ultimately accommodated in Drury House (*ibid.*, p. 94). It has been suggested that Simon probably worked at Drury House until told to remove to the Mint, when perhaps it was necessary to restore it to the royalist owner Lord Craven. See also Cal. S. P. D., Sept. 11, 1656.

⁷⁷ Ruding's *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 8.

⁷⁸ Evelyn's *Numismata, a Discourse on Medals*, published 1697, p. 239.

Evelyn then gives an illustration of Simon's Crown with its pathetic inscription: Thomas Simon most·HUMBLY·PRAYS·YOUR·*MAJESTY*·TO·COMPARE·THIS·HIS·TRYALL·PIECE·WITH·THE·DVTCH·AND·IF·MORE·TRVLY·DRAWNE·&·EMBOSS'D·MORE·GRACEFVLLY·ORDER'D·AND·MORE·ACCVRATELY·INGRAVEN·TO·RELEIVE·HIM. Evelyn calls this "the Artist's appeal to a Prince who was an exquisite Judge". But he does not tell us definitely whether this was in truth a competitive piece or a petition after the event. We have noticed that only drawings were perhaps submitted to Charles, as implied by the description given by Pepys on March 9, 1662-3, more than a year after the famous competition was suggested. Is it possible that the "exquisite" judgement of the King was not brought to bear on the question until too late? The appeal to relieve him implies that it was a protest made after the decision. Of this Petition Crown, Mr. Burn⁷⁹ states that Simon struck 20 specimens for presentation to Lord Clarendon and members of the Council. Does Evelyn mean that none of these pieces reached the King? We have no direct evidence of the form taken by the original "peece of 5 Shillings in Silver" by Simon.

There is a pattern with undraped bust by Roettiers, 1662, on edge *Decus et Tutamen*, an inscription suggested by Evelyn and borne together with the date by crowns of 1662 and 1663, although only enforced by warrant April 11, 1663.⁸⁰ This pattern exists in the

⁷⁹ *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. iii, "Memoirs of the Roettiers", by J. H. Burn, p. 167. Of these 15 specimens, 13 silver, 2 pewter, were described by J. B. Bergne in *Num. Chron.*, vol. xvi, p. 135, in an article on "Coin Pedigrees" published in 1853.

⁸⁰ Cal. S. P. D. 1663-4, p. 107.

British Museum both in gold and silver. Again in both metals the National Collection possesses the proof of the draped bust of 1663 with the above motto and *Anno Regni XV* on the edge.⁸¹ The former of these types was perhaps Roettiers's exhibition piece. As regards the draped bust, I have a proof with plain edge and no date or privy mark which possibly might be one of the sample coins seen by Pepys on visiting the Mint in March 1662-3, but that, like the other coins of 1663, it has on the reverse the alteration of arms ordered on April 8, 1663, upon all large coins—the arms of England and France being on separate shields instead of quartered as formerly.⁸² The gold pattern in the British Museum has on edge *Anno Regni XV*—i.e. between March 25 and January 29, 1663-4, a fact which causes us to wonder whether this handsome coin was a counterblast to Simon's Petition Crown which, according to the practice of our engraver, bore the arms separately quartered. Did Simon's Crown suggest this improvement to the authorities? If so, may we regard it as thereby proved to be also issued after April 8, 1663, a date which indeed is but a little more than a week after the coinage "by way of the mill" had been made current by the proclamation of March 27, 1663⁸³? Almost a year later we still find

⁸¹ Coins with this inscription must have been struck between March 25, 1663, and January 30, 1664, when *Anno Regni XVI* would begin.

⁸² Cal. State Papers Domestic 1663, p. 103; Entry Book XV, pp. 15-18, and XVI, pp. 76-8. It was considered that the quartered escutcheons were too small to be easily distinguished and therefore were more easily counterfeited. Cyphers were suggested for the reverses of the small coins, but we know of none before 1668.

⁸³ Ruding, vol. ii, p. 10, says that the books of the Mint show

Evelyn sitting on the Mint Commission on March 9, 1663-4,⁸⁴ and writing, "Now it was that the new mill coining, both of white money and guineas, was established". He speaks of the contest somewhat vaguely, thus: "This laudable Contention was it seems in the year 1663", but he may have been guided by the date on the coins⁸⁵ rather than his own memory, for this remark is in his *Numismata*, not his *Diary*. It will be remembered that John and Joseph Roettiers were called upon to make a pattern. No mention is made of Philip, and to John the chief gravership was ultimately given. But this does not imply that there was rivalry between the two brothers, for, as we see by some later documents respecting Croker, Ochs, Tanner, and Natter, it was the task of the chief graver to make puncheons for heads on the coins and his assistant the puncheons for arms.⁸⁶ Therefore Joseph may have been responsible for the reverse. But be this as it may, it seems that the only pattern we can fairly place to the year 1662 is the undraped bust by the Roettiers, the first result of the contest ordered in February 1661-2, and it may have appeared any time after the 25th of March, 1662, and was followed by the 1662 draped bust which was ultimately adopted on the coinage. But so far no crown by Simon bearing date 1662 has been found, neither does the artist mention a crown by way of the mill and press in his account. Was he

that they did not begin to coin the new way until Feb. 6, 1662-3, and the coins were proclaimed current on March 27, 1663.

⁸⁴ Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 215.

⁸⁵ *Discourse on Medals*, p. 239.

⁸⁶ See *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. vi, pp. 258-63, "Portraiture of the Stuarts", by Helen Farquhar.

too proud to compete? This can hardly be. Was he relying on his known work such as his Coronation medal, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 472, no. 76? Did he offer a coin in 1662 with the same fine bust as the Petition Crown without the words on the edge? Eleven specimens of the Reddite Crown were enumerated by Mr. Bergne,⁸⁷ and others bear the Inscription: *Render to Cæsar, &c.*, in English—others again have a plain edge, but all those now known to us bear date 1663. But did Simon have fair play? Was the portrait in silver ever shown to the King? Did Sir Wm. Parkehurst and the rest of the staff of the Mint—above all did Slingsby, who, worn out by the dilatoriness of Simon, disliked him—did they overrule the Council? Who shall say? But it is not true that Simon was debarred from work on the coinage, for his last item on his account made out in April 1665 and partly discharged by the Treasury shortly before his death, by payment of one thousand on account, in May 1665,⁸⁸ is "for altering of the stamps for the fourpence, threepence, twopence, and penny by way of the mill wherein I and my servants wrought two months".⁸⁹ From first to last he was engaged in his craft of making patterns, seals, and medals. We are accustomed, curiously enough, to treat as patterns the ornate *Magnalia Dei* and *Magna Opera Domini* pieces—which, in 1660, when at the height of his work at the Mint, he himself classifies as "Meddalls" at £16

⁸⁷ *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. xiv. Eleven specimens in silver and two in pewter of the Reddite and three of the Render to Cæsar, all in pewter. I possess a pewter with plain edge, and I believe it is not unique.

⁸⁸ Treasury Books, Warrant May 31, 1665; Cal. Treasury Books, 1660-7, p. 661.

⁸⁹ Vertue, Appendix V. Simon charges £35 for this work.

each. We have already referred to his Scottish coinage, incomplete at the time of his death although commenced in November 1662.⁹⁰ The fine seal he engraved for the Queen under an order bearing date April 29, 1662, was followed in June 1663 by a new Great Seal for England.⁹¹ His time was occupied from August 1663 to April 1665 in making seals for official use—twenty-three are mentioned in one bill as made for Secretary Bennet, the successor of our Sir Edward Nicholas, between September 1663 and March 1663-4, and yet other three seals are charged in April 1665.⁹² To the last months before his death we must attribute one of his most remarkable medals made in celebration of the victory of June 3, 1665, known as the Dominion of the Sea (ET·PONTVS·SERVIET *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 506, no. 145). Unfortunately the die broke and there was not time for Simon to remedy the evil.

We see, therefore, that he was in full employment and enjoyed the King's favour to the last, but we feel that he died a disappointed man and that Evelyn, who was no friend of his, thought the same in that Simon never regained the post he had enjoyed under the Commonwealth. True it is that Rawlins outlived him, so the chief place in the Mint was not vacant,⁹³

⁹⁰ *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, First Series, p. 166; Folkes, p. 107; and Vertue, p. 91.

⁹¹ Wyon, Pl. XXXVII, and Vertue, Pl. XXXIII.

⁹² Cal. Treasury Books, 1660-7, *passim*. See also Vertue, Appendix V.

⁹³ In the Declared Accounts of the Mint Audit Office, Bundle 1601, Roll 53, we see that, after the death of Simon, Thomas Rawlins was still receiving as "Chiefe Graver 30^l for iiij years ended Xmas 1666 £120", whilst Thomas Simon's fee of "L¹" from May 1661 is entered as "during Life for two years, and

but a special post was invented for the Roettiers with a special salary, and that for foreigners who even after several years' residence could not properly speak our language and who had to bring an interpreter with them to explain their desires at a Treasury Council Meeting.⁹⁴ A few weeks before his death Simon in his Will pronounced himself to be "somewhat infirme of body, but of sound and pfect mind", and therefore it appears that he was prompted to make his Will by increasing ill-health rather than by fear of the plague which, although raging by August, was not very much above the normal on June 17. It is, however, mentioned in the State Papers on June 20.⁹⁵ The Will is a well-considered document and the codicil added on the 25th also shows no sign of panic, and the directions for burial were such as were not carried out in the pestilence. The Will was proved on August 23 in the Consistory Court at Canterbury, where his property lay, just two months after it was drawn. Tradition has it that he died of the plague, but no certain evidence of this appears. His claims for payment in the April before his death had amounted

threequarters end. Mich. 1665 total £137-10". Separate arrangements were made for the payment of the three Roettiers, and their names do not appear in this Mint Roll. In Roll 57, running from 1665 to 1670, we find that in 1670 Rawlins was dead, and in a letter (Cal. State Papers Dom., Addenda 1660-70, p. 151, on February 17, 1669-70) mention is made of his son receiving a nomination for Charterhouse on account of his late father's loyalty and sufferings.

⁹⁴ Cal. Treasury Books 1669-72, p. 88, June 18, 1669. The Roettiers were drawing a pension for life "as they may become blind".

⁹⁵ Cal. State Papers Domestic 1664-5, p. 437, June 20, 1665, speaks of increase of plague.

to £3,107 7s. 1*d*. A petition for the balance of his account minus £1000 paid him in May, with a few extra items added, was presented by Mrs. Simon after his death, to meet with the usual postponement of those days. But a rather significant note was made by Lord Ashley, who virtually occupied the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the petition reached the Lords of the Treasury — a note which exonerates Charles II from responsibility for delay or callousness towards the widow's request, and which had apparently been pigeon-holed since 1666 or 1667. "His Mat^{ie} being willing the Petitioner should be satisfied what is justly due to her" runs Ashley's minute, and it seems in 1669 to have cleared the way when, after many delays, the account was audited by the official to whom it was referred.⁹⁶ The sum of £2,164 was finally allowed out of the £2,243 she had set down, £1,000 having been paid, as we have seen, on May 24, 1665, out of the total bill for £3,164; a few items had probably been added for work after Simon made his Will, in which he stated that the King's debt to him stood at "Two Thousand Pounds owing to me by his Majesty". Some of his legacies were contingent on this payment. The Lords of the Treasury took exception to a few of the prices. £9 for Irish Seals was allowed, but £376 was again deducted as due from the Scottish, not the English, Exchequer; and by some mysterious process of arithmetic the widow was still not paid in full but had to content herself with £1,564 10s.⁹⁷ Several protests were made, concerning seals, against Simon's

⁹⁶ *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. iv, pp. 226-9.

⁹⁷ *Cal. Treasury Books*, 1660-7, pp. 590, 643, and 661; Entry Book V, p. 342.

charges—the journey to France was regarded as unnecessarily expensive—the prices of some of the medals were in question. We do not quite lose sight of the widow. The Vertue manuscripts⁹³ inform us that she married again, but the industrious annalist could not ascertain the name of her second husband. He was, however, told by "Mr. Martin, a Jeweller of Lombard Street, that in the year 1676 he then bought of the widow of Simons (who was then re-married to Mr. . . . a dissenting Parson), all the tools, stamps, puncheons, wax impressions, &c., that did belong to Mr. Simons which he left and appointed by Will to be preserved together for the use of his son if he liv'd and should follow the profession of his Father, but as he was of weak understanding when he grew up and not fit for such an imployment he was otherwise provided for and these things sold amongst which are many punchions for the figures, heads, &c., of the broad seals, medals, coins, Letters, &c."⁹⁹ That the boy was otherwise provided for is true, for Simon was a man of property and had left his son his farm at Shorne, near Gravesend in Kent, with reversion to his daughters and then to his wife for life. But the reversion of his tools and puncheons he had devised to his nephew, failing his son, and therefore for the sake of Mrs. Simon's

⁹⁸ Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 23070, p. 78 b. I owe this and other verbatim references to the Vertue manuscripts to Mrs. Esdaile, who is at present engaged in editing the volumes for the Walpole Society, and kindly undertook to check them for me.

⁹⁹ Mr. W. G. Hocking in *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. ix, p. 98, mentions that the dies now in the Royal Mint Museum representing the coins of Oliver Cromwell were purchased so late as 1700 by Isaac Newton, but Mr. Hocking suggests that some of them may be from the collection earlier sold by the widow.

honesty we must hope that either nephew William did not fulfil the conditions of the bequest or that she shared with him the proceeds of the sale, for there is no record of any passing into the hands of William the son of Nathaniel.

It is undeniable that Thomas Simon was a great engraver—and, more than this, a great artist whose portraits have an insight into character, as evidenced by his magnificent presentment of Charles II; but his versatility often escaped the notice of his contemporaries and he was the victim, like Briot before him, of the objections usually experienced by innovators. Vertue in his manuscript says that the jeweller Marlow told him that "Simons always made use of punches for every purpose, being extreme ready at it and liked that much better than cutting inward with tools and gravers as most others do". "Nay at that time liv'd Martin Johnson", Vertue continues, "a Seal Cutter, whose workes in Seals are very good and he did cutt heads of persons in steel seals very well, but was of an opposite temper or practise, for he would not make nor use any Punchions, but cutt all with tools inwards. Was so averse to Simons that he would say of him that he was a puncher not a graver." This pronouncement must, however, be taken as prompted by jealousy, for not only did Simon make his own punches and puncheons, but, as Vertue himself knew and published in his life of Simon, intaglio seals cut in precious stones were also made by the artist, and Thomas himself mentions some of these in his account later added to Vertue's book.¹⁰⁰ Therefore

¹⁰⁰ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, &c.*, Appendix V, p. 90. Simon mentions "Two blew saphirs ingraven with his Majestie's

I cannot but think the title of this monograph is justified when I call Thomas Simon, in the words of the Royal warrant, "One of Our Chief Gravers".

If I have at all thrown light on the career of a great artist by drawing together the various notices concerning him contributed by abler writers than myself, my thanks are greatly due to Dr. Cock for placing within my easy reach extracts from the Minute Book of Sir Edward Nicholas containing facts which, although mostly calendared in the State Papers, would have involved much research at the Public Record Office; for this many lack the time, and my advancing years now render me unfitted for it. By permission of Dr. Cock the notes are here printed in full.

HELEN FARQUHAR.

cypher". He charges £20 for gold and stones, &c., and £14 for the graving, and £10 for engraving an antick head on a cornelian.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Minute Book of the Privy Council—Charles 2nd, 1661. The dating is according to the old style and extends to the beginning of 1662.

Page 14. A Seale for the Counsell of Wales.

It is His Ma^{ty}s pleasure That you forthwith make a Seale of Silver for His Ma^{ty}s Councell in the Marches of Wales of the bigness of a Twenty Shillings peece in the usuall forme & figure heretofore belonging to the said Courte in the time of the late King of blessed Memory adding only in the Inscription immediately after the word Carolus the word Secundus and on a Labell at the Foot of the Seale the usual Inscription And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant. From Whitehall the 23rd day of October 1661.

To Thomas Symon His Ma^{ty}s Graver. E. N.

Page 39. Passe 8 Nov. To Mr Thomas Symon to goe & returne from France about His Maj^s Service with his Servant & necessarys. Nov: 8th 1661.

Page 145. Mr Symons to make Stamps for ye New Coyne. Our Will and Pleasure is and We doe hereby authorise & Command you that laying aside all other Our service you forthth prepare and make ready the originall & master punchions, Matrices, Stamps & Dyes for the Coyning of Our Gold & Silver Moneys as Wee shall hereafter more particularly direct & appoynt. And for soe doing this shall be yo^r Warrant. Dated the last of January 1661.

The like Warrant to Thomas Symons to make Stamps for the New Coyne. Dated the 3^d of February 1661.

Page 152. Mr Symons to make a Triall peece of 5 Shillings. Whereas Wee have given order to Tho: Symon one of Our Chiefe Gravers and also to John and Joseph Roettiers Gravers to make the Stamps for Our Moneys by way of the Presse Our Will & Pleasure is that they severally first make a triall peece of 5 Shillings in Silver according to Each other (*sic*) draughts of heads & armes shewed unto Us with all convenient speed that may bee & that noe persons be suffered to disturb or oversee their worke untill y^e same shalbee perfected & presented to Us for Our Judgm^t therein whereby the said Parties are to take notice & performe Our Command herein accordingly And for soe doing etc. Dated the 7th of February 1661.

Page 152 (continued). Mr Symon to be put into the Nich: Briotts house in the Tower.

Our Will & Pleasure is That you forthth put in possession Our servant Thomas Simon, one of Our Chiefe Gravers into the dwelling house and outhouse that Nich: Briott deceased enjoyed according to Our Grace unto the said Simon and the same be forthth clered and fitted with worke rooms and other accommoda^{ti}ons for the immediate dispatch of those services and for soe doing etc. Dated the 8th day of February 1661.

To our trusty and wellbeloved Sir W^m Parkehurst Sir Ralph Freeman & the rest of Our Officers of Our Mynt in Our Tower of London.

Page 178. Warrant to Coyne Gold in the Mint.

Our Will & Pleasure is and Wee doe hereby Command &

Authorise you to Coyne and cause to be Coyned with all possible speed such gold as is or shall be delivered into the Mint of our trusty & wellbeloved servante Stephen Fox Esq or any other person or persons for Our use by the way of the Presse or Screw and for the present to make peeces of 20 Shillings only according to y^e Standards of Our Crowne Gold in weight and finenesse observing the course directed by the Indenture of Our Mint and making the said twenty shilling peeces Lesse in compasse than formerly for better taking of the Impression of the Stampes but with Our Figure and Inscription upon them as usually and with Our Armes quartered as Anciently in plain Escutcheon adding the yeare of Our Lorde above the Crowne upon the Armes and leaving out the Letter C on the one Side & the letter R on the other side of the Escutcheon of Our Armes.

And this shalbe a sufficient Warrant unto you for soe doing; and also unto all other persons employed by you in the making and preparing of any the necessary Tooles & Engines for this Our service and in coyning with them in Our Mint with^a the Tower of London according to these Our directions and Commands.

And whereas there is a Water Mill in St Katherines neere unto the Tower of London long since erected for the passing of plates for the presse We doe hereby for the better dispatch of this Our present Service in Coyning the said Gold permit and authorise you as also the Moneyers of Our Mint and such as they shall appoynt to passe or cause to be passed the Plates of such Our Gold at the Mill in St Katherines aforesaid as need shall require. Provided always that it be done in the presence of the Surveyor of Our Melting house or in his absence in the presence of some other Officer or Officers of Our Mynt deputed thereunto by you & not otherwise. Dated the last day of February 1661.

To Our trusty and wellbeloved Sir W^m Parkehurst Knt Warden, Sir Ralph Freeman Knt Master Worker, Henry Slingsby Esq deputy to our said Master & Worker, James Hoare Esq Comptroller and the rest of the Officers of Our Mint.

Page 230. To Coyne Gold by the Hammer.

Whereas We have formerly Commanded and Authorised you to Coyne and cause to be Coyned such Gold as Our trusty and wellbeloved servant Stephen Fox should deliver into the Mynt for Our use by way of Presse and Screw

310 THOMAS SIMON, "ONE OF OUR CHIEF GRAVERS".

and for the present to make pieces of 20^s only. Now forasmuch as the dyes made by Thomas Symons for that worke hath hitherto proved insufficient for Our present Service Our Will & Pleasure is that you coyne & cause to be coyned by the Way of Hammer the Seizell & defective peeces of such Gold as Our said serv^t Stephen Fox hath delivered into Our Mynt into peeces of 20^s & of 10^s with such marks of valuacon (for more plaine distincons sake) as We have formerly appoynted and this shalbee a sufficient War^t unto you for soe doing. Dated the 8th of April 1662.

To Our trusty & welbeloved Sir W^m Parkehurst Knt
Sir Ralph Freeman Knt Master Worker, Henry Slingsby
Esq Deputy to the said Master Worker & James Hoare
Esq Controller of Our Mynt.

REVIEW.

Zur Abfolge der Prägungen der Kaiser Marcus und Verus.
Von WILHELM KUBITSCHKE. Pp. 153. Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.G., Vienna and Leipzig, 1931 (*Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte*, 213. Band, 5. Abhandlung).

THIS is a most interesting piece of applied numismatic study, in the direct succession to C. H. Dodd's brilliant articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1911 and following years. The theme is the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The main object is to discover how the dual empire worked out in practice. The method is a close study of the coinage in all its details of changing obverse and reverse legends and types. That this intricate study of coins does not exclude the application of a sound judgement and wide historical knowledge will be readily understood by all who know Professor Kubitschek's past work.

The full value and meaning of such a study can only be understood as one works over it point by point with the coins and literature at one's side. For the moment it is enough to say that it will be an indispensable help to the future study of the period. There are, however, some points of more general interest that arise, which may well be noticed in a review. Must we suppose that Marcus, in making Verus his fellow emperor, went back from the wishes of Antoninus Pius to the original plan of Hadrian? And, if so, how are we to interpret the motives that governed his choice? The coins seem to suggest that in Marcus's original intention he and Verus were to reign in exact counterpoise. Then came the Parthian war—Verus took the field, while Marcus stayed at his post in Rome. As a result, a divergence in types begins to be noticeable, with new types of war and victory reserved for Verus alone. Then appear traces of actual discrepancy of policy. Verus accepts greedily all the titles heaped on him by flatterers for the successes of his generals, "Armeniacus", "Parthicus Maximus", "Medicus". Marcus shows a reluctance to accept them, and finally refuses "Medicus" altogether. He evidently felt that there was a certain indecency in this flagrant overtrumping of Trajan's honours.

There are some very interesting comments on the use of the title "pontifex maximus" on coins. Attention is very rightly called to the remarkable fact that Antoninus Pius was "pontifex maximus" before he was Augustus (pp. 22 ff., 29 f., 101, 145). There are valuable suggestions on the strict control of the workers of the mint down to the smallest details (p. 31, no. 1), on the rarity of such coins as quinarii, and on the bearing of this rarity on the question of what proportion of ancient coinage is represented in our modern collections (p. 34), on intermissions of coinage (p. 41), on the possibility of a second mint for Verus (p. 60), on the relation of paintings to coin types (p. 72), on the practice of the Alexandrine mint as compared with that of the Roman (p. 97). These examples should be enough to give some idea of the wealth of interesting material that is wrought into this little study. Only a few occasional points seem to require criticism. On p. 68, n. 1, Kubitschek comments on the failure of Mattingly-Sydenham to interpret VI. AV. on a shield: the reason, as he perhaps might have recognized, was that his own interpretation, "Victoria Augusti", was assumed to be the only one possible. On p. 73 it is not quite easy to see why Kubitschek finds no satisfaction in a very clear and definite observation—that Minerva is very commonly used as a distinctive type of the crown prince. On p. 91, why is it a "bizarre idea" to express two or three victories by as many trophies?

Kubitschek has based his work very largely on Mattingly-Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. iii, and, in his close study, has inevitably detected a certain number of printing or other errors, a certain number of ambiguities and uncertainties. He has acknowledged his debt in the most handsome terms, and has been strictly just and moderate in his criticism. Nobody can be as conscious as the editors themselves of the many imperfections of the book, though few perhaps realize the full difficulties involved. Kubitschek's book is a very happy reminder that, even so, important historical studies can be based on it. Following as closely as it does on Paul Strack's researches on Trajan—a book which comes in for deserved praise here—it encourages us to look forward to important advances in the near future in this department of numismatics applied to history.

H. M.

INDEX.

A.

- Aaron, Joseph, superintendent of Carreghova mine, 219-235
 Albinus, Clodius, Lugdunum coins of, 196-197
 Alexandria, a mint of Septimius Severus, 181
 Antoninus Pius, coin of Libyan nome of, 213-214
 Aptera, didrachm of, by the engraver Pythodoros, 203-204

B.

- Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, Mālwa coins of, 42
 Banbridge (Co. Down), coins found at, 70-71
 Bāz Bahādur of Mālwa, coins of, 46
 Britain, barbarous coins of Septimius from, 197-198
 British Museum, Greek coins acquired in 1930-31 by the, 199-214
 BROOKE, GEORGE C.
 Findings of English Coins, 68-71
 Notice of his English Coins, 176
 Buckfastleigh (Devon), coins found at, 70
 Byzantium, silver coin of, 201-202

C.

- Caesarea in Cappadocia, a find of drachms of, 68-69, 238-239
 Caligula, Caesarean drachms of, 68
 CARLYON-BRITTON, P.
 Notice of G. C. Brooke's English Coins, 176
 Carreghova, silver mine at, 215-235
 Charles I, coins of, found at Emborough, 69; at Buckfastleigh, 70; at Banbridge, 70
 Charles II, coins of, found at Banbridge, 71
 Coventry, coins found at, 69
 Cyprus, *see* Marium

D.

- Diocletian, magistrate of Byzantium, 201
 Domitian, Caesarean drachms of, 238
 Durham mint of Richard I, 229-230; of Edward III, 107, 156-159

E.

- East Harptree hoard, 245-273
 Edward III, coinage of 1356-61; York mint, 106-107; Durham mint, 107; gold coins, 108-109, dates of groups, 109-111; 1356-60: nobles of, 113-122; half-nobles, 122-125; quarter-nobles, 124-125; groats, 126-143; half-groats, 143-149; pennies of London, 148-153; of York, 152-155; of Durham, 156-159; period 1360-61: nobles, 161-163; half-nobles, 164-166; quarter-nobles, 167-169; groats, 170; half-groats, 170-171; pennies, 170-171
 Elizabeth, an alleged proclamation of March 4, 1562 of, 1-12; coins, found at Emborough, 69; at Buckfastleigh, 70; at Banbridge, 70
 Emborough (Somerset), coins found at, 69
 Emesa, a mint of Septimius Severus, 182
 Epik[- -], magistrate of Sinope, 205

F.

- FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN.
 Thomas Simon, "one of our chief gravers", 274-310
 FINDS OF COINS.
 Banbridge (Co. Down), 70-71
 Buckfastleigh (Devon), 70
 Caesarea (Cappadociae), 68-69, 238
 Coventry (Georgian), 69
 East Harptree (siliquae), 245-273

Emborough (Somerset), 69
 Solihull (Warwickshire), 70
 Victoriatas (table of), 84-85
 "Fourpence halfpennies" =
 countermarked testoons, 5

G.

George V, varieties of the coins
 of, 66-67
 Germanicus, Caesarean drachms
 of, 68
 Ghiyās Shāh of Mālwa, coins of,
 16-26
 Gratian, *Urbs Roma* siliquae at
 Treveri of, 248-364; *Vota* sili-
 quae at Treveri of, 267-273

H.

"Harpers" = Irish coins, 5
 Harptree, *see* East Harptree

I.

Ibrāhīm Lodī, Mālwa coins of,
 42
 Imperial coins of George V, notes
 on, 66-67
 Ina, a new Sicilian mint, 244
 Ionia, early electrum coin of, 208

J.

James I, coins of, found at Em-
 borough, 69; at Buckfastleigh,
 70
 Julia Domna, chronology of coins
 of, 193-195

K.

Kādir Shāh of Mālwa, 43-44
 Kubitschek, W. Notice of his *Zur
 Abfolge der Prägungen der Kaiser
 Marcus und Verus*, 311-312

L.

Laodicea ad Mare, a mint of
 Septimius Severus, 182
 LAWRENCE, L. A.
 The Coinage of Edward III
 from 1351, Part III, 96-174
 Lederer, Philip. Notice of his *Die
 Staterprägung der Stadt Nagidos*,
 243-244

Lee, John, first President of the
 Numismatic Society, medal of,
 63-65
 Libyan nome, coin of Antoninus
 of, 213-214
 Lugdunum, mint of Septimius
 Severus, 196-197
 Lycia, stater of, acquired by the
 British Museum, 209

M.

Mahmūd I of Mālwa, coins of,
 13-16
 Mahmūd II of Mālwa, coins of,
 33-40
 Mahmūd III of Gujārāt, *see* Kādir
 Shāh
 Malvern Hall, *see* Solihull
 Mālwa, coins of, 13-53
 Manor Farm, *see* Emborough
 Marium (Cyprus), coins of, 209-
 212
 MATTINGLY, HAROLD.

A Mithraic Tessera from Veru-
 lam, 54-57
 Coins from a Site-Find in
 British East Africa, 175
 The Coinage of Septimius Se-
 verus and his Times Mints
 and Chronology, 177-198
 A Hoard of Imperial Didrachms
 and Drachms from Caesarea
 in Cappadocia, 238-239
 St. Albans Site-Finds, 239-
 242
 Notice of F. Stefan, *Münzkunde
 des Altertums*, 72
 Notice of W. Kubitschek, *Zur
 Abfolge der Prägungen der Kaiser
 Marcus und Verus*, 311-312

MATTINGLY, HAROLD, AND E. S. G.
 ROBINSON.

"Romano-Campanian" Coin-
 age, 236-238
 Mithraic tessera from St. Albans,
 54-57
 Muhammad 'Ādil, Mālwa coins
 of, 44-45
 Muhammad II of Mālwa, coins
 of, 40-42

N.

Nāsir Shāh of Mālwa, 27-32
 Nero, Caesarean drachms of, 69,
 238

O.

OMAN, SIR CHARLES.

An alleged Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, dated March 4, 1562, regarding the Coinage, 1-12

Valerian's "Consecratio", 58-62

P.

PEARCE, J. W. E.

Issues of the *Urbs Roma* Siliquae at Treveri and the *Vota* Siliquae of Gratian struck at Treveri, 245-273

Pepys, Samuel, on the new money, 294

Persia, siglos of, acquired by the British Museum, 212

Petition Crown, the, 294-302

Pharsalus, drachm of, acquired by the British Museum, 201-203

Philip IV of Spain, coins of, found in England, 70-71

Pythodorus, engraver at Aptera, 203-204

R.

"Ragged pieces" = old groats, 5
Rawlins, Thomas, at the Mint, 287-290

Reinold, moneyer of Richard I, 219, 224

REVIEWS.

Brooke, G. C., *English Coins*, 176

Kubitschek, W., *Zur Abfolge der Prägungen der Kaiser Marcus und Verus*, 311-312

Lederer, Ph., *Die Staterprägung der Stadt Nagidos*, 243-244

Stefan, F., *Münzkunde des Altertums*, 72

Richard I, records of Shrewsbury mint of, 215-235

ROBINSON, E. S. G.

Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum, 1930-31, 199-214

Notice of Ph. Lederer. *Die Staterprägung der Stadt Nagidos*, 243-244

See also MATTINGLY, HAROLD

Roettiers, the, at the Mint, 295-297

"Romano-Campanian" coinage, 236-238

S.

St. Albans, Roman coins from, 239-242; Mithraic tessera from, 54-57

Samos (?), gold coin of, 205-207

Septimius Severus, coinage of, 177-198; mints of, 180-188; chronology, 188-193

Shadabād, a Mälwā mint, 13-44
Shrewsbury mint under Richard I, 215-235

Simon, Abraham, 281-283

Simon, Thomas, career of, 274-310; bibliography, 276-277; date of birth, 279-283; works for Charles I, 283-284; for the Commonwealth, 284-289; at the Restoration, 290-297; his Petition Crown, 297-302

Slingsby, Mr., Deputy Master of the Mint, 294-302

Solihull, coins found at, 70

Stefan, Professor F. Notice of his *Münzkunde des Altertums*, 72

SYDENHAM, REV. EDWARD A.

The Victoriata, 73-95

T.

Tänagurā, dynast of Lycia, 209

Tarpeia, Roman type of, used as Mithras, 54-57

Theodosius, siliquae of, 248, 249, 265, 266, 271

Tiberius and Drusus, Caesarean drachms of, 68

Trajan, Caesarean drachms of, 238

Treveri, mint at, siliquae of, *Urbs Roma* type, 249-266; *Vota* type, 267-273

Turpilian, coin of the triumvir, used as a Mithraic tessera, 54-57

U.

Urbs Roma, type of Treveri, 245-266; first issue, 249-260; second issue, 260-264, third issue, 264-266

V.

Valens, siliquae of, 248, 249, 259, 260, 263, 269-270

Valentinian I, 248, 253-259
 Valentinian II, 248, 249, 263-266
 Valerian, "consecratio" of, 58-62
 Verulam, *see* St. Albans
 Vespasian, Caesarean drachms of, 238
 Vetulonia, bronze coin of, 200-201
 Victoriata, Roman coin, 73-95; classification of, 75-85; mintage, 86-89; finds of, 84-85; place of, in the coinage, 89-95

W.

Walter, Hubert, Archbishop of Salisbury and later of Canter-

bury, works silver mine at Carreghova, 218-232

WEBB, PERCY H.

John Lee, LL.D., Q.C. First President of the Numismatic Society, 63-65

WELLS, W. C.

The Shrewsbury Mint in the reign of Richard I and the Silver Mine at Carreghova, 215-235

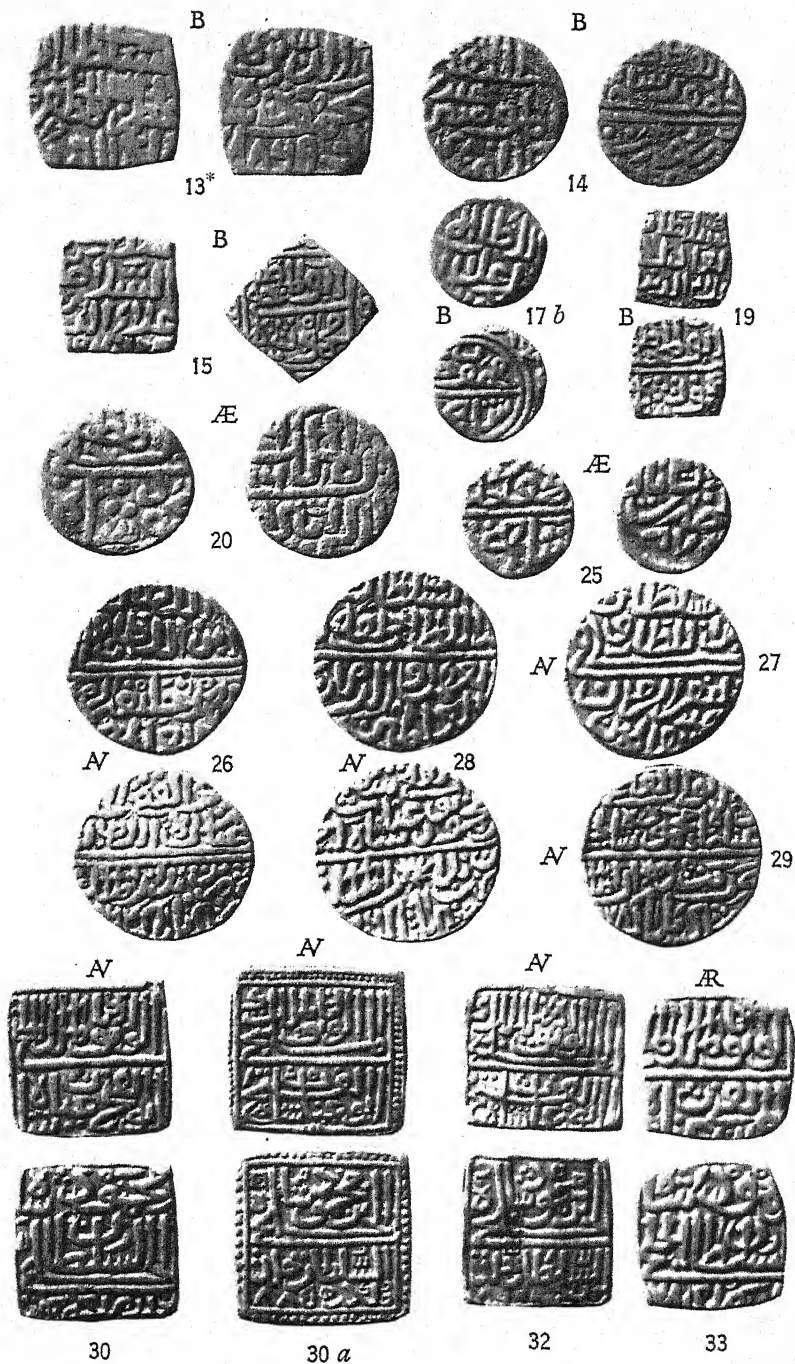
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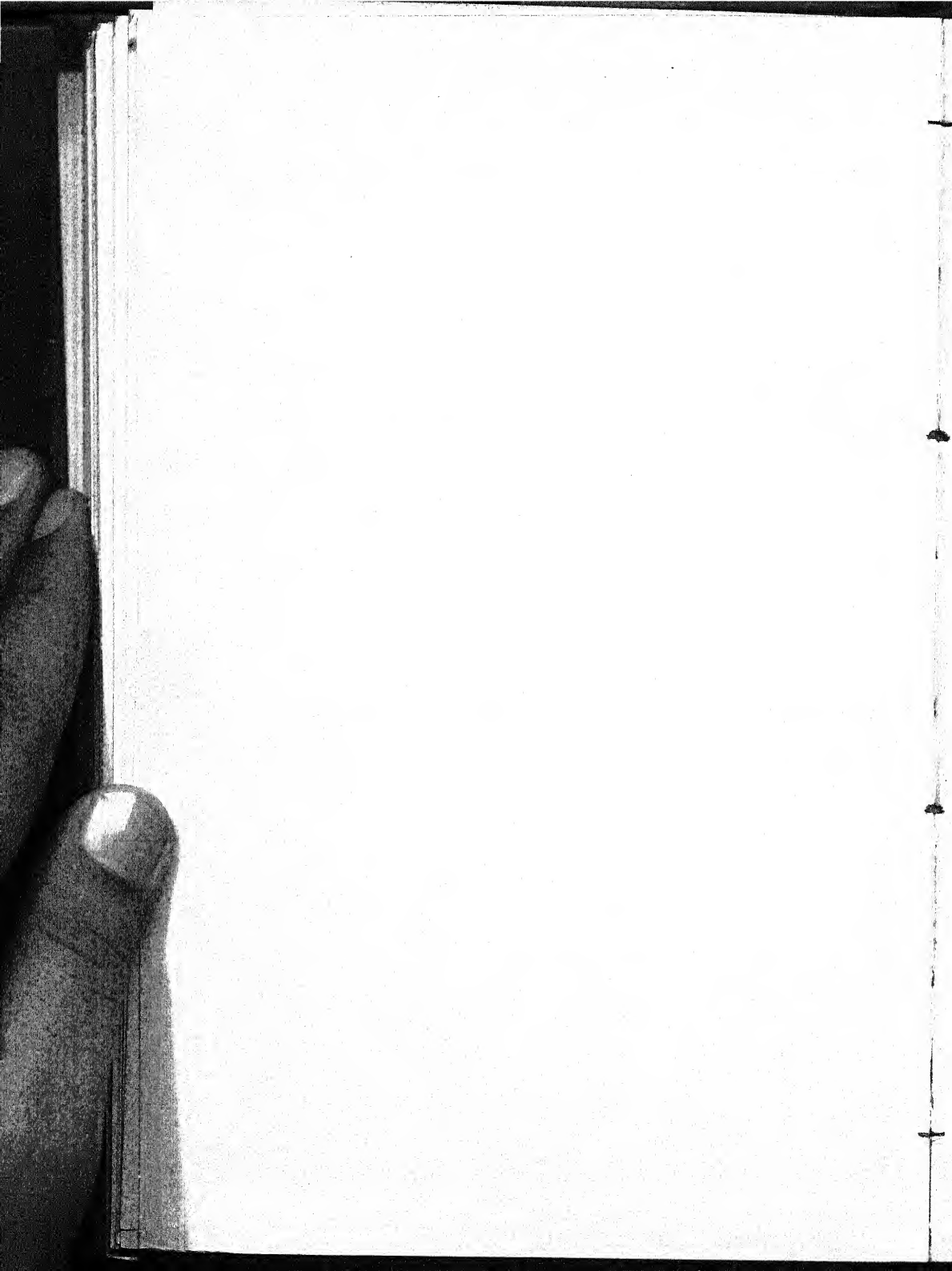
The Coinage of the Sultāns of Mālwa, Part II, 13-53

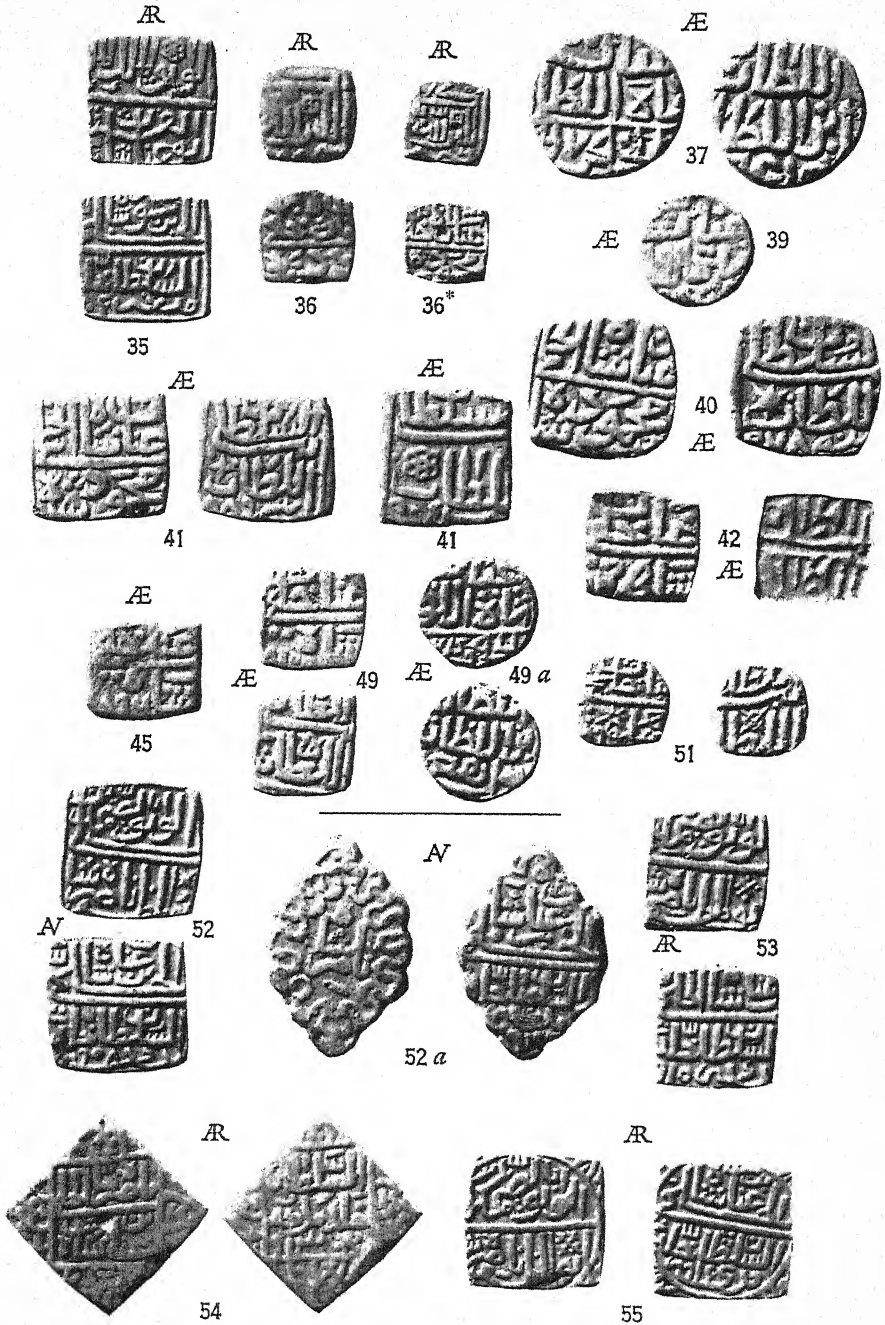
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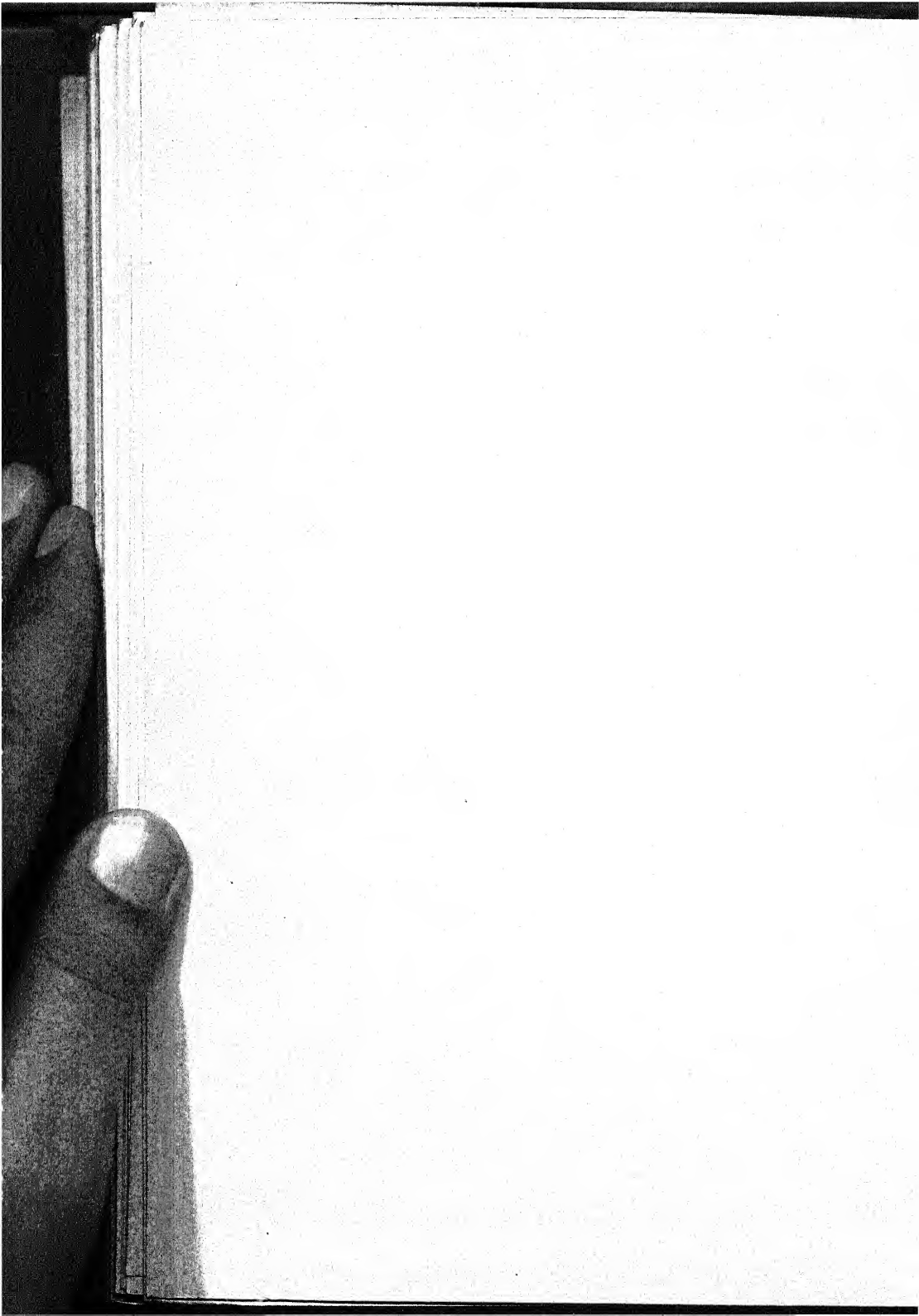
York Mint of Edward III, 106-107, 152-155

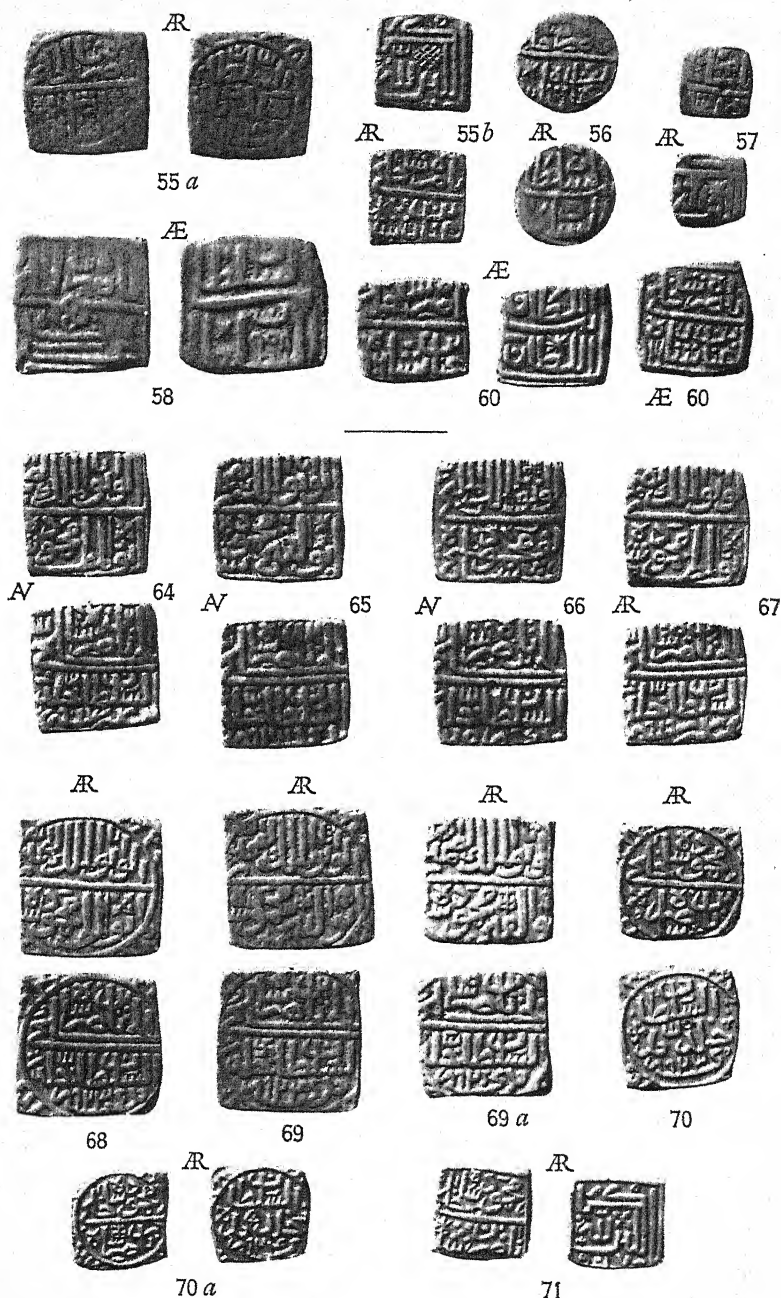
- Valentinian I, 248, 253-259
 Valentinian II, 248, 249, 263-266
 Valerian, "consecratio" of, 58-62
 Verulam, *see* St. Albans
 Vespasian, Caesarean drachms of, 238
 Vetulonia, bronze coin of, 200-201
 Victoriata, Roman coin, 73-95; classification of, 75-85; mintage, 86-89; finds of, 84-85; place of, in the coinage, 89-95
- W.
- Walter, Hubert, Archbishop of Salisbury and later of Canter-
 bury, works silver mine at Carreghova, 218-232
- WEBB, PERCY H.
 John Lee, LL.D., Q.C. First President of the Numismatic Society, 63-65
- WELLS, W. C.
 The Shrewsbury Mint in the reign of Richard I and the Silver Mine at Carreghova, 215-235
- WRIGHT, H. NELSON.
 The Coinage of the Sultāns of Mālwa, Part II, 13-53
- Y.
- York Mint of Edward III, 106-107, 152-155



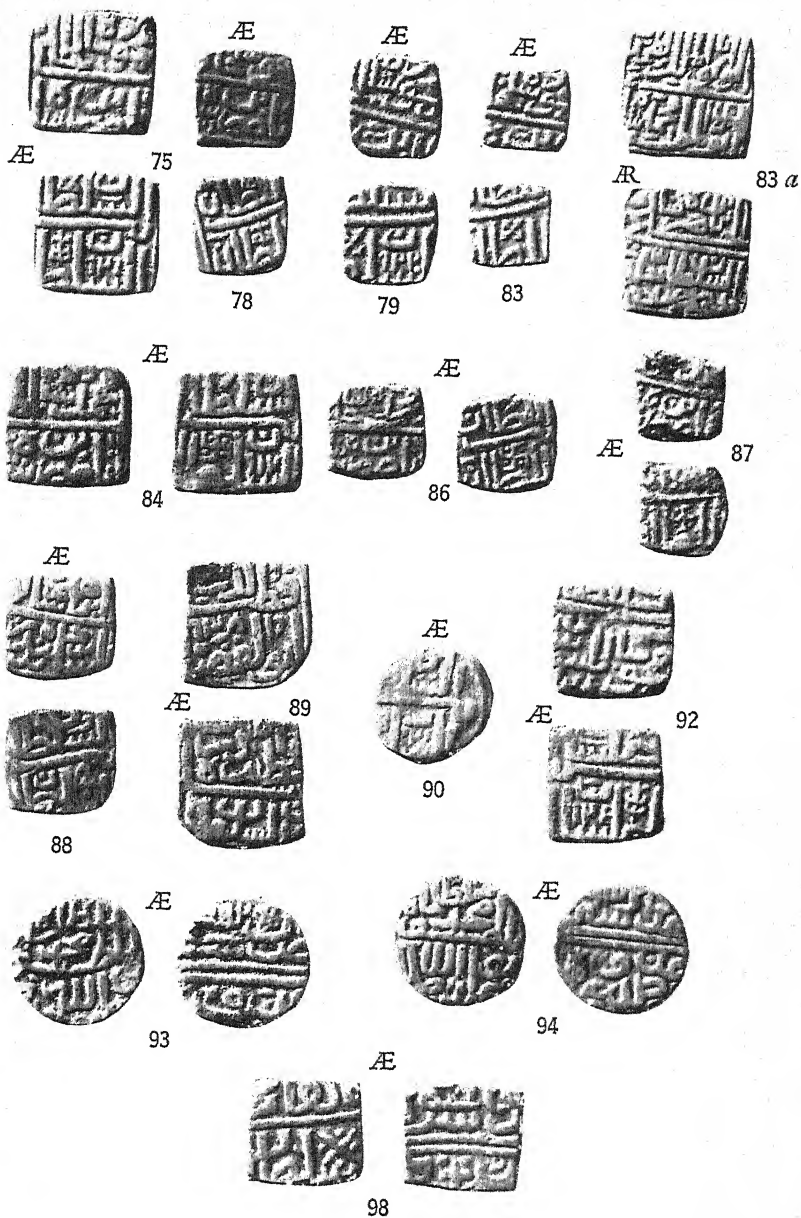


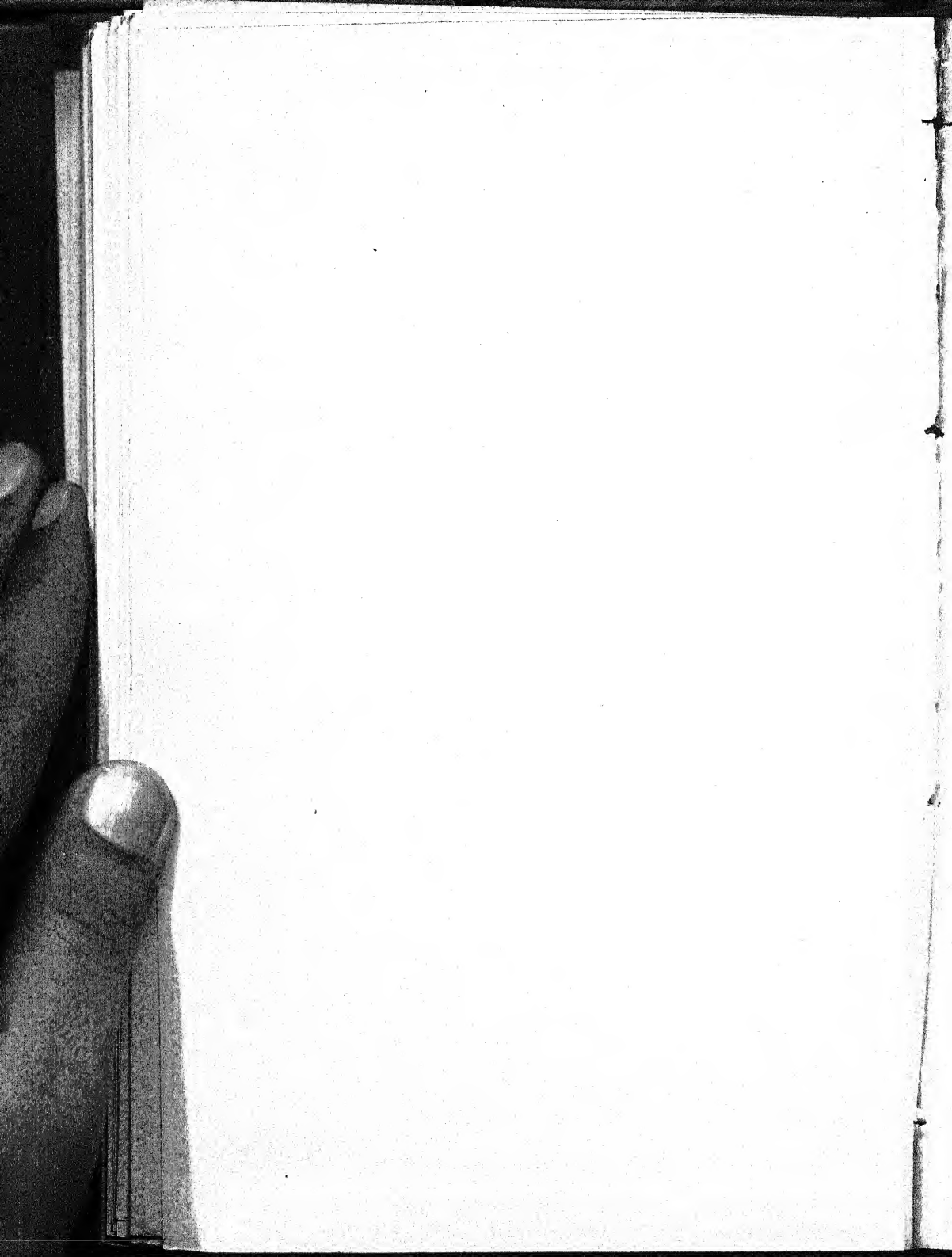














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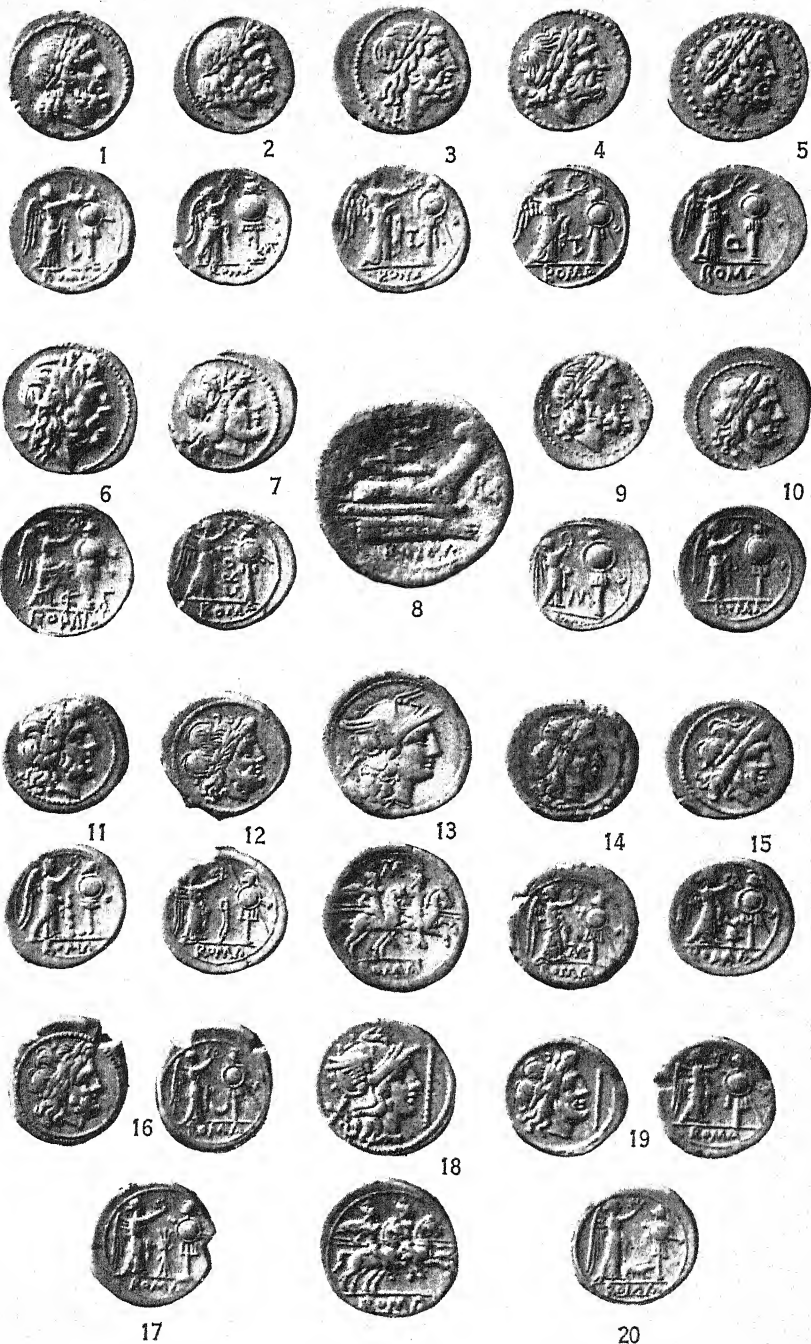


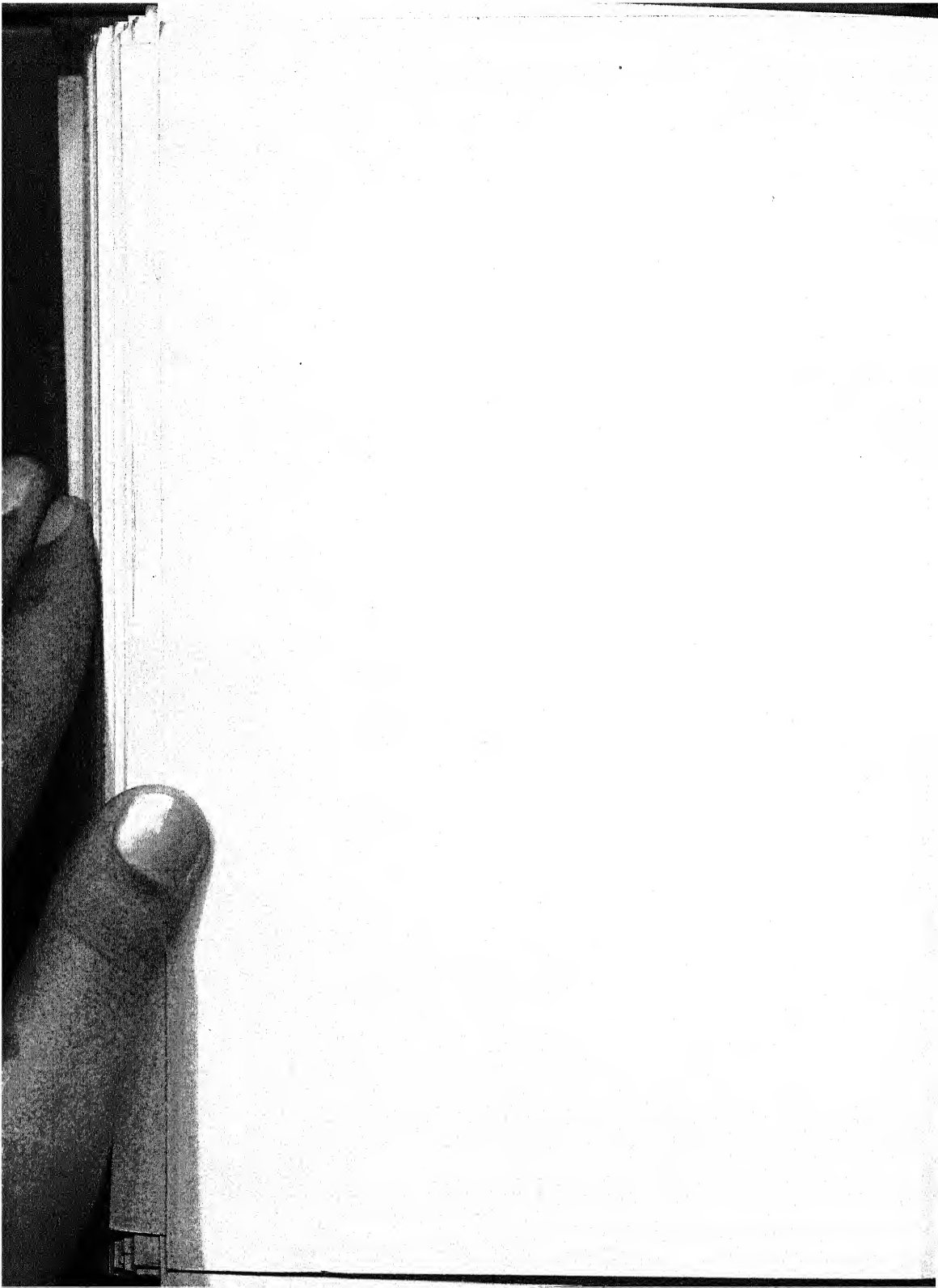
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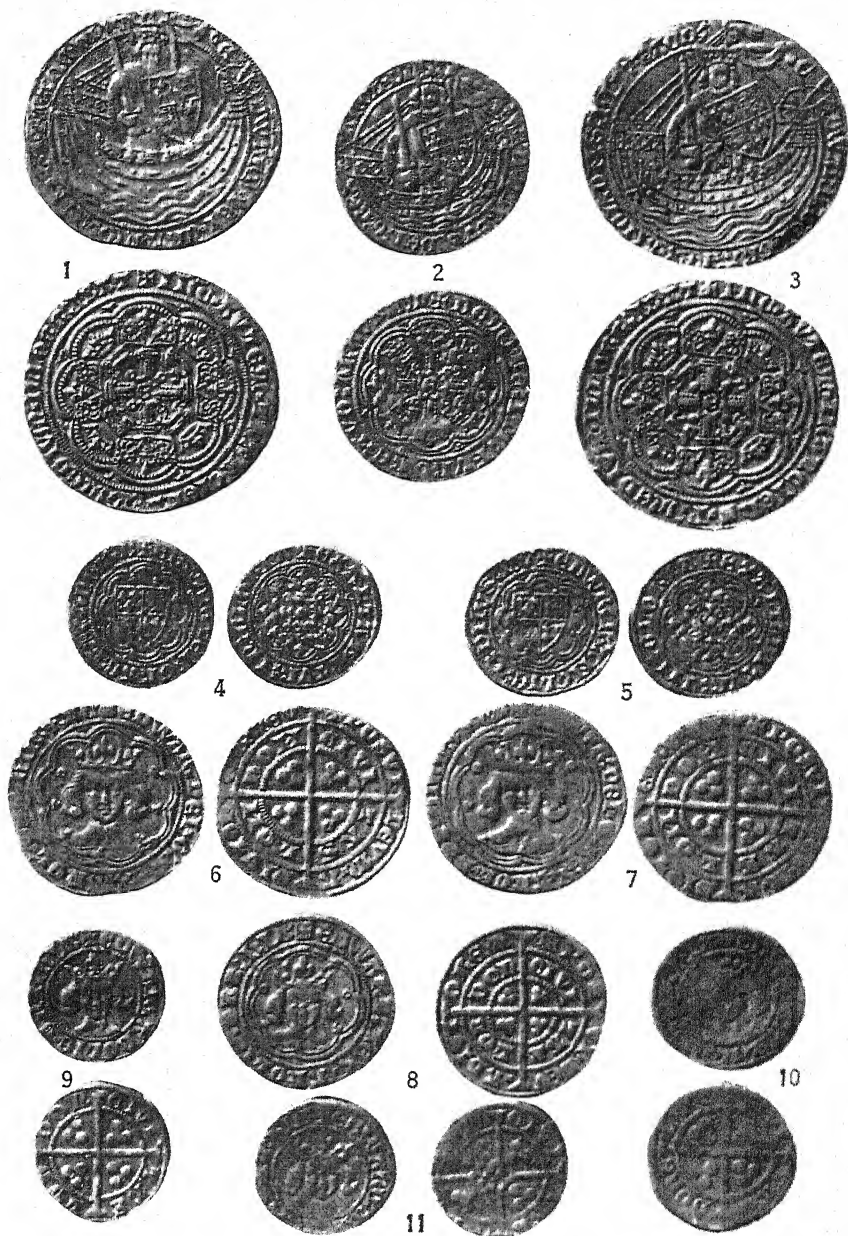


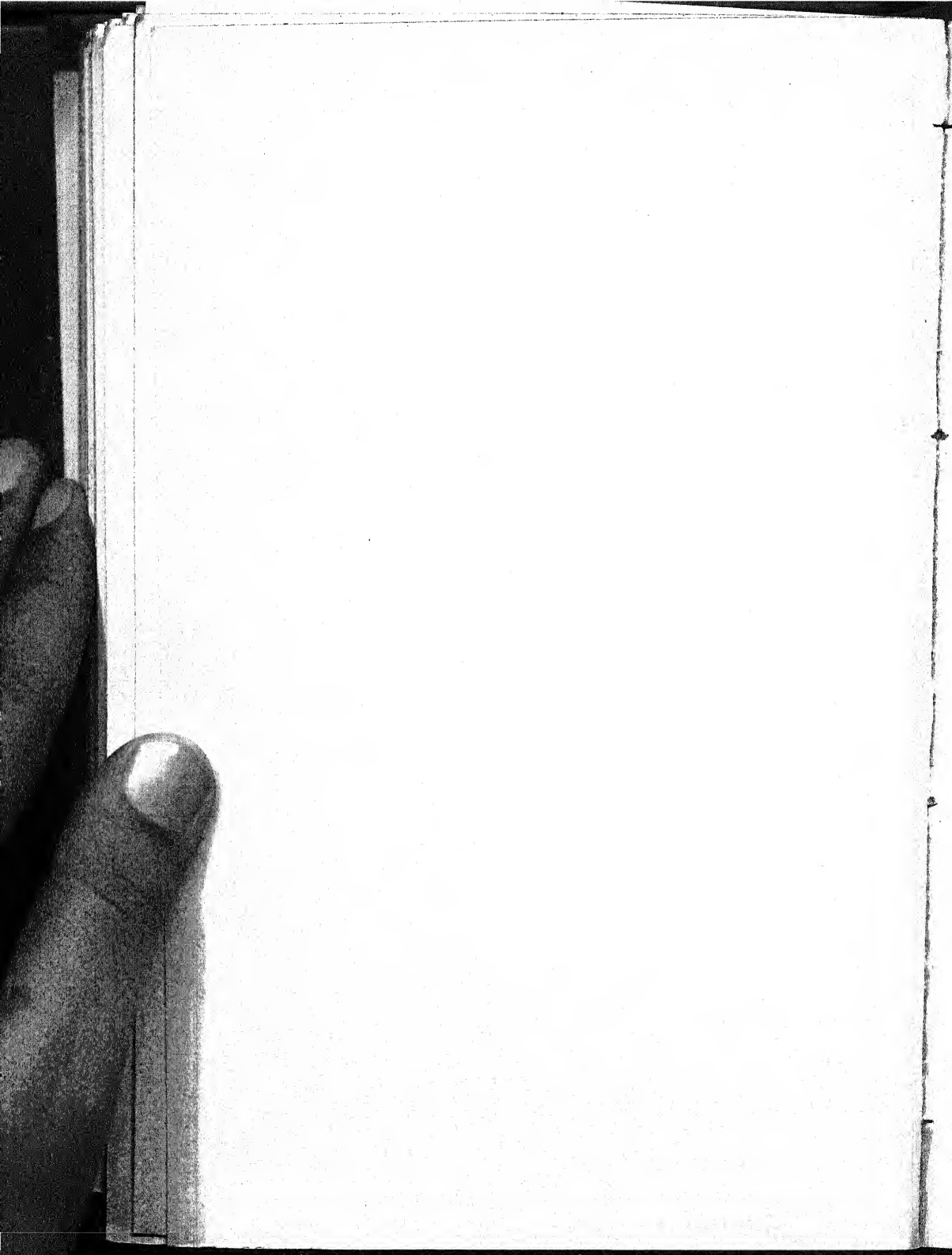














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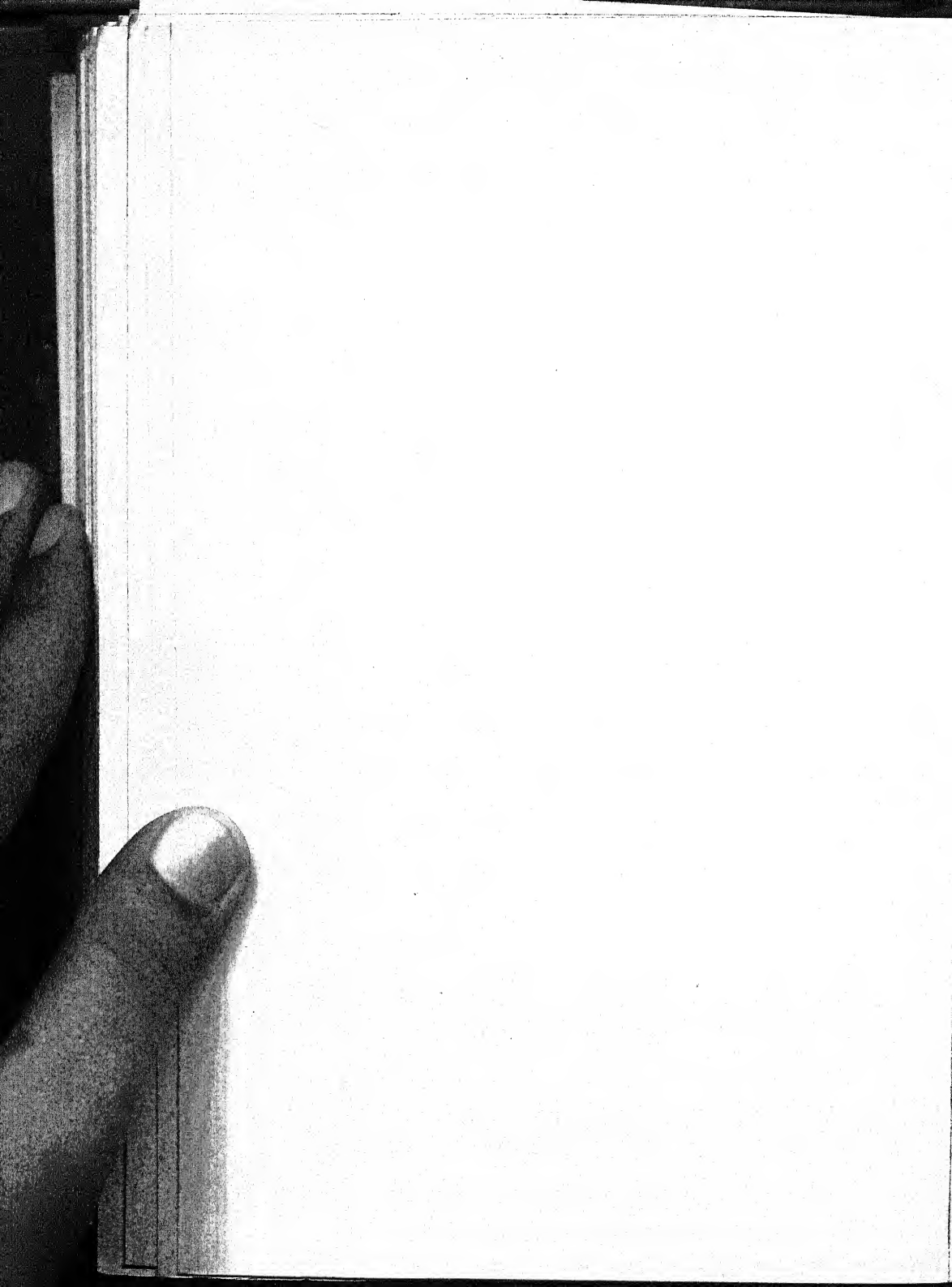
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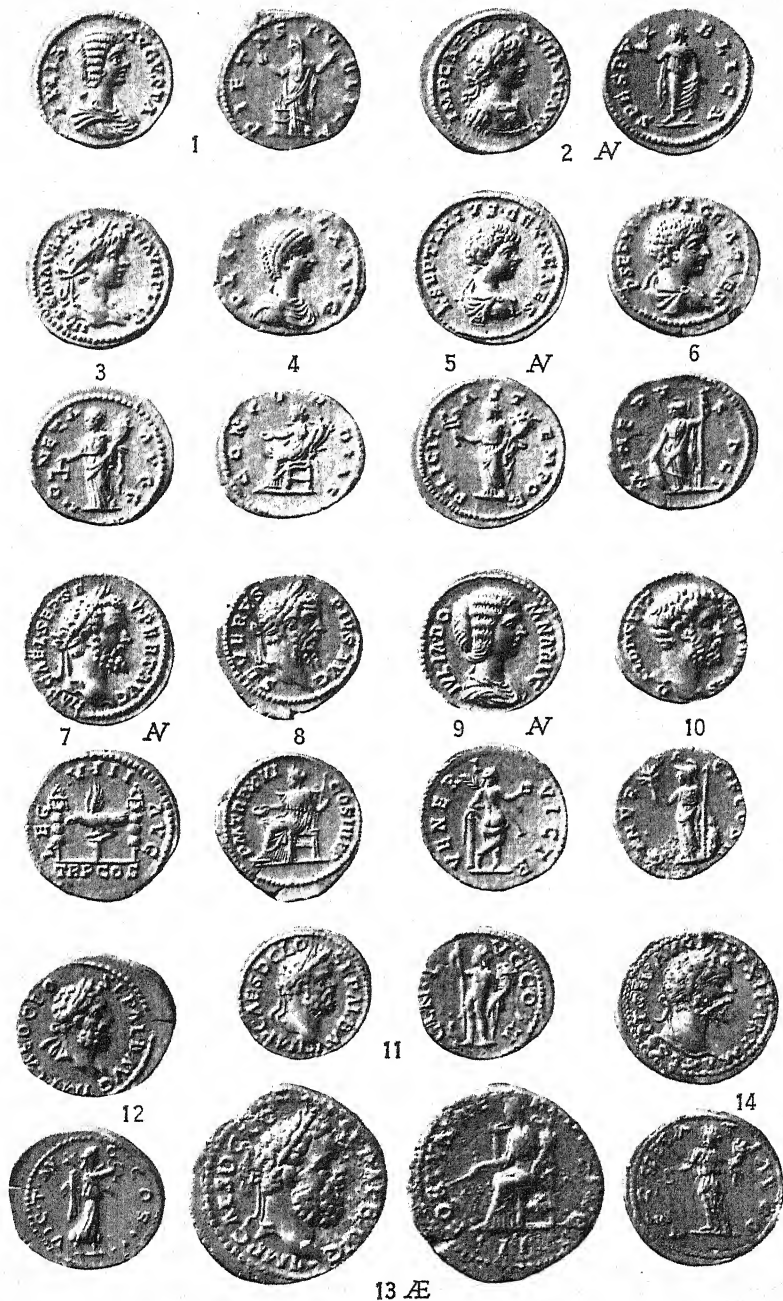
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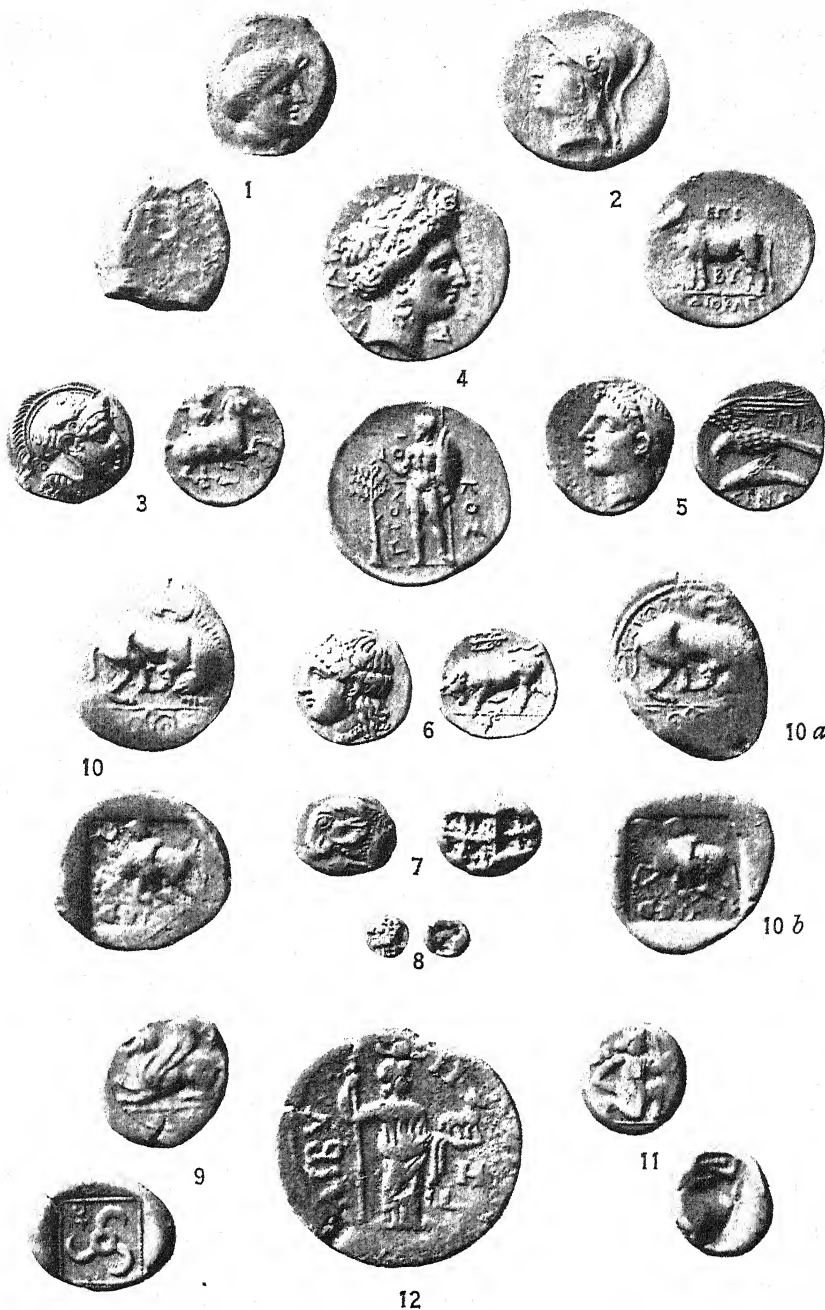
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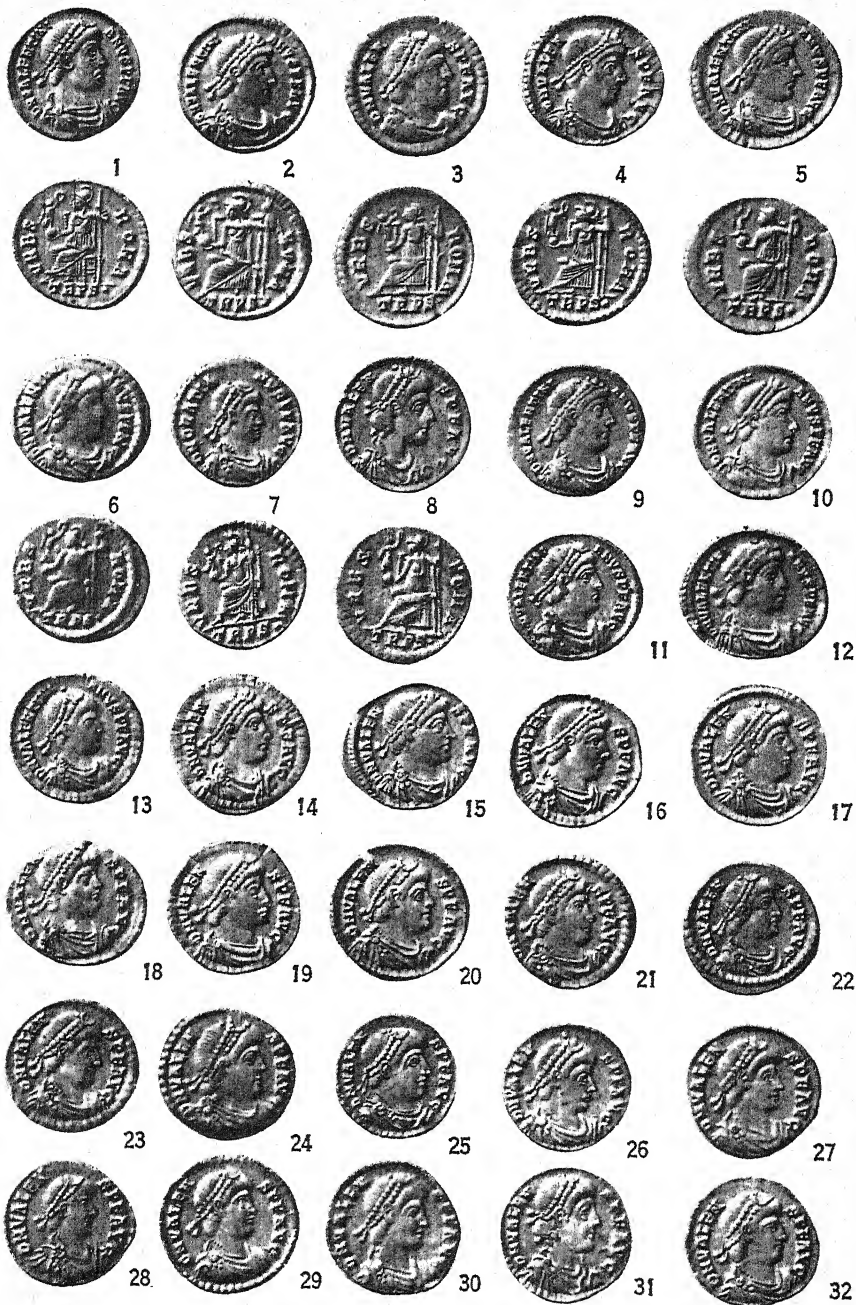




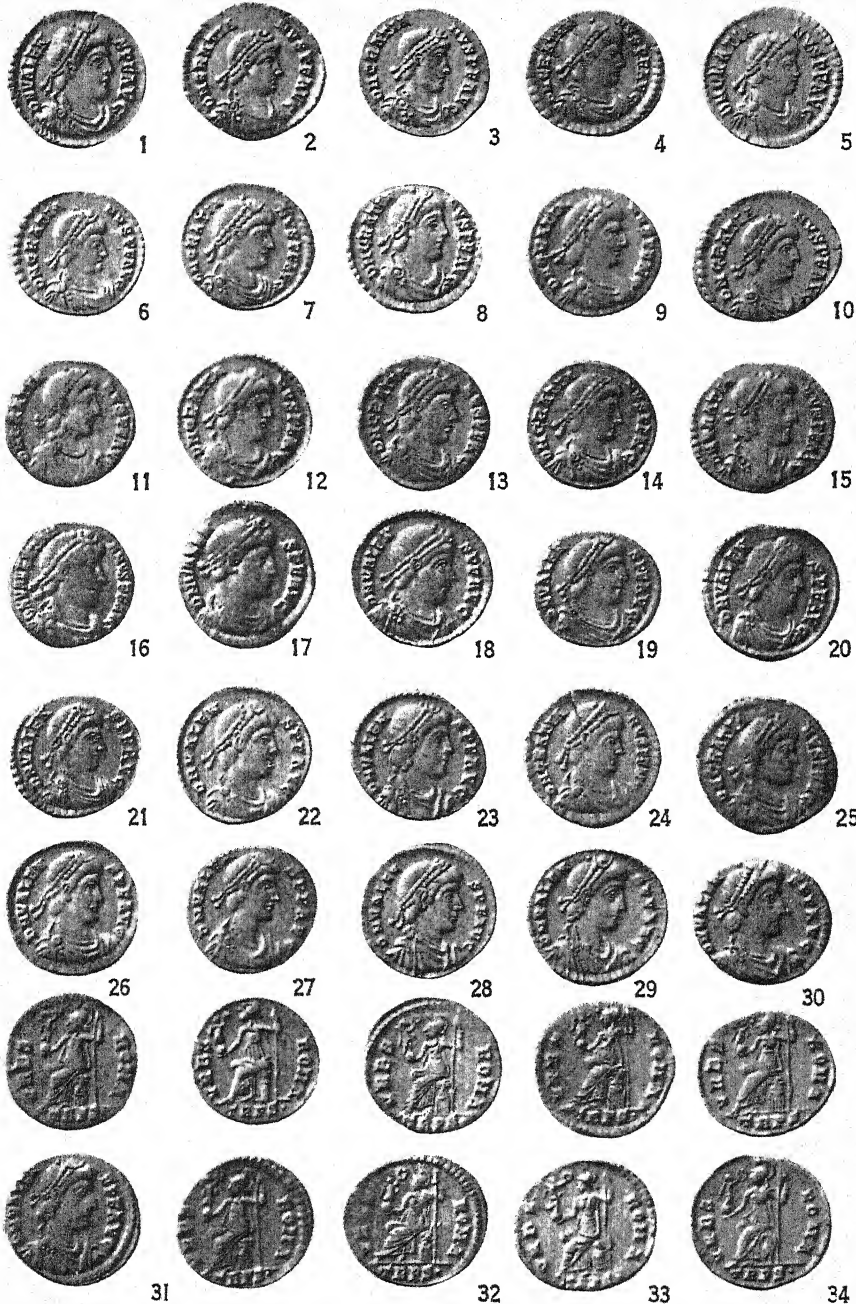


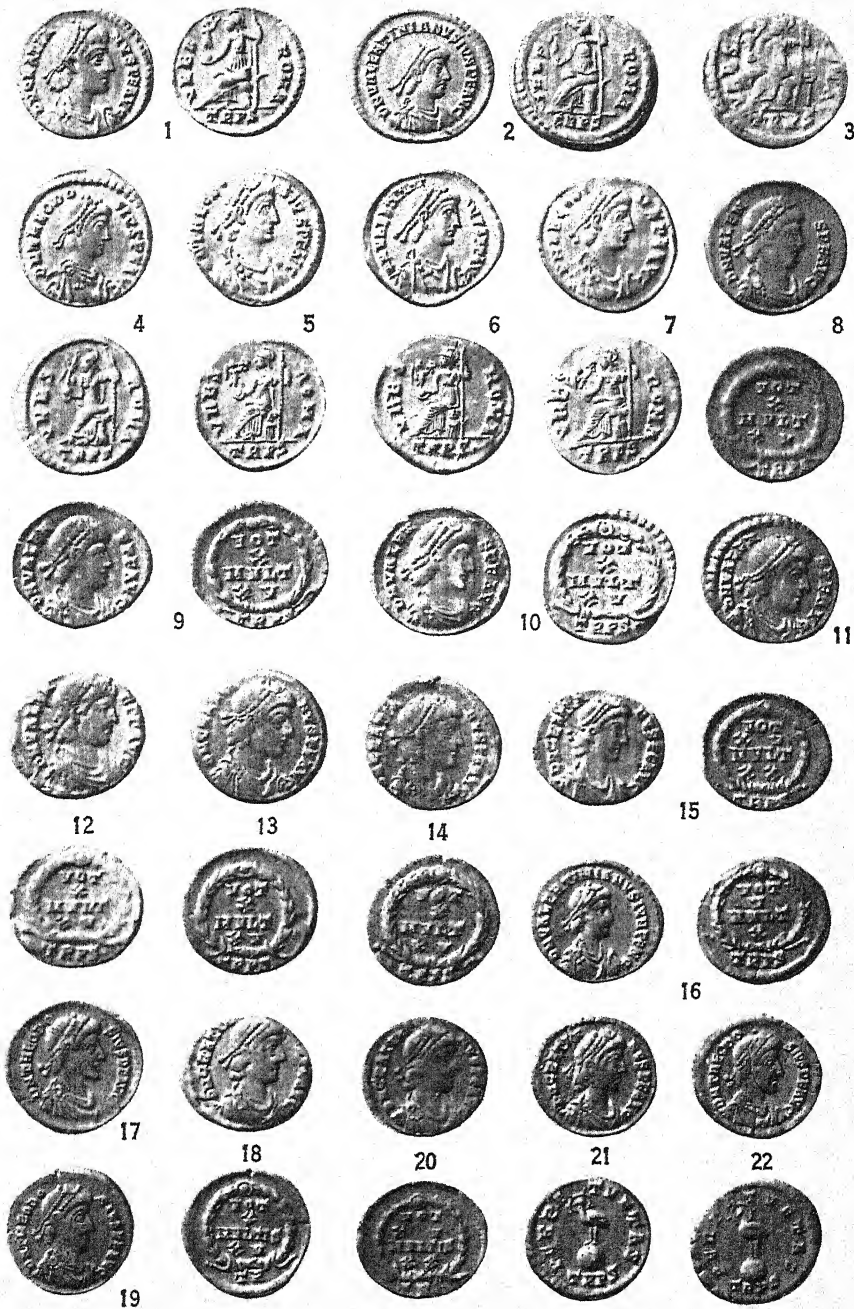


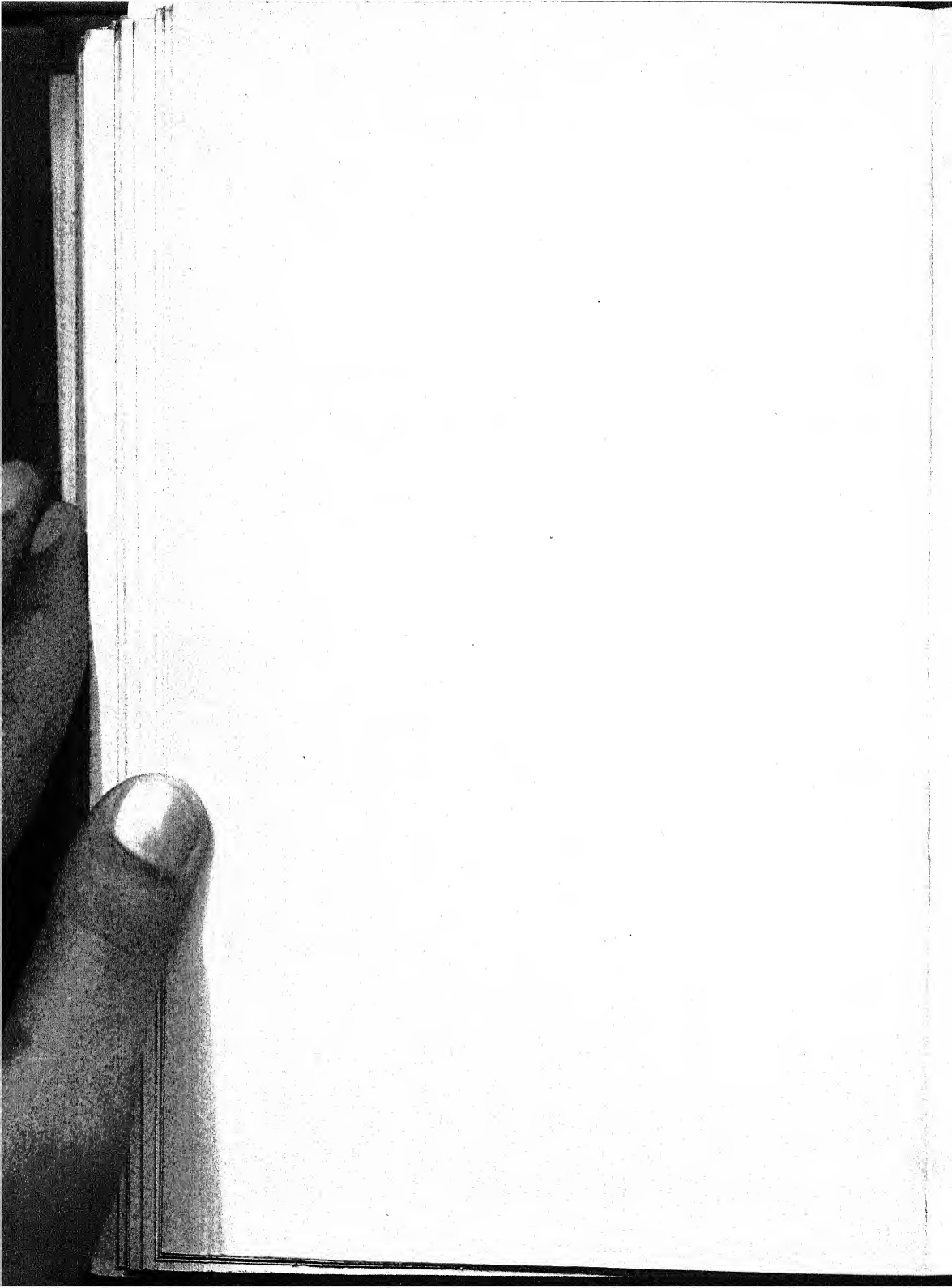
SHORT-CROSS COINS OF SHREWSBURY AND DURHAM



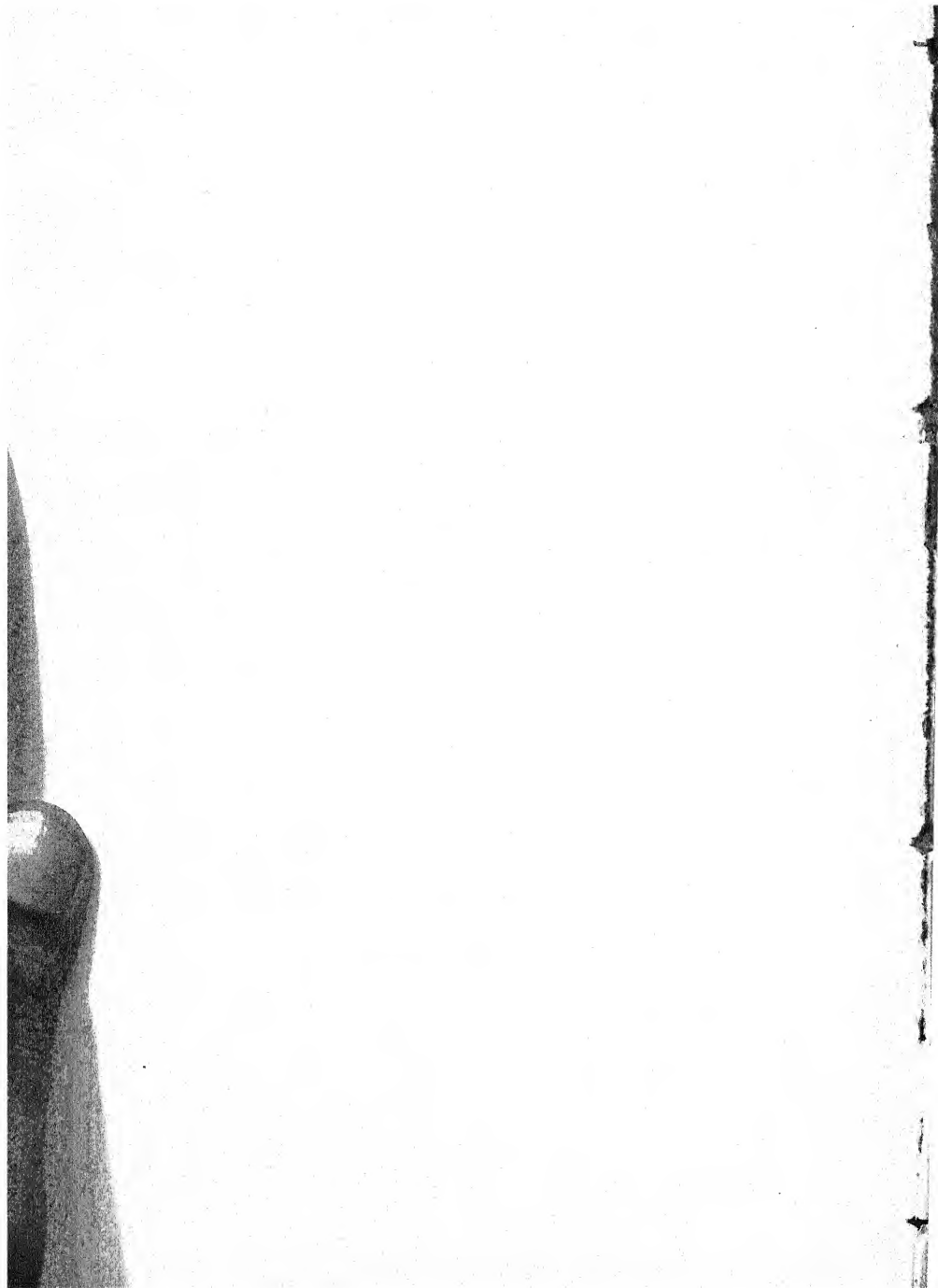
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- 1905 SNELLING, EDWARD, Esq., 8 Amberley Road, E. 10.
- 1930 SNIJDER, PROFESSOR G. A. S., Allard Pierson Stichting, Weesperzijde 33, Amsterdam (O.).
- 1909 SOUTZO, M. MICHEL, 8 Strada Romana, Bucharest.
- 1922 SPENCER-CHURCHILL, CAPT. E. G., M.C., F.S.A., Northwick Park, Blockley, Worcestershire.
- 1932 SPINK, CORNELIUS M., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1925 SPINK, MARTIN S., Esq., M.A., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1894 SPINK, SAMUEL M., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1902 STAINER, CHARLES LEWIS, Esq., Woodhouse, Iffley, Oxford.
- 1922 STARKEY, W. BEAMONT, Esq., Lyonsdown, Ilfracombe.
- 1928 STEBBING, W. P. D., Esq., F.S.A., Fiveways, Deal.
- 1932 STEWARD, JAMES R., Esq., 24 Carlyle Road, Cambridge.
- 1910 †SUTCLIFFE, ROBERT, Esq., 21 Market Street, Burnley, Lancs.
- 1914 SYDENHAM, REV. EDWARD A., M.A., The Vicarage, West Molesey, Surrey.
- 1885 SYMONDS, HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., 19 Ellenborough Park N., Weston-super-Mare.
- 1896 *TAFFS, H. W., Esq., 27 Elderslie Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1919 TARAPOREVALA, VICAJI D. B., Esq., Sunama House, 140 Cumballa Road, Bombay.
- 1917 TAYLOR, GLEN A., Esq., F.S.A., 63 Lewis Road, Neath, Glamorgan.
- 1925 THOMAS, CECIL, Esq., 7 Gloucester Terrace, S.W. 7.
- 1920 THOMAS, J. ROCHELLE, Esq., 18 Ilchester Place, W. 14.
- 1918 THORBURN, PHILIP, Esq., B.A., 49 South Side, Clapham Common, S.W. 4.
- 1929 TORONTO, University of, The Librarian, Canada.
- 1894 TRIGGS, A. B., Esq., 33 Macquarie Place, Sydney, New South Wales.

ELECTED

- 1912 VAN BUREN, DR. A. W., American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome.
- 1916 VANES, REV. J. A., Morton House, Cheddleton, Leek, Staffs.
- 1899 VLASTO, MICHEL P., Esq., 12 Allée Léon Gambetta, Marseilles, France.
- 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Cardiff.
- 1932 WALKER, JOHN, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1924 WALLWORTH, I. N. G., Esq., Fairbanks, Stanley Park Road, Carshalton.
- 1911 WARRE, FELIX W., Esq., O.B.E., M.C., 128 Church Street, W. 8.
- 1920 *WATSON, COMMANDER HAROLD NEWALL, R.N., Belmont, 10 Curzon Park, Chester.
- 1901 *WATTERS, CHARLES A., Esq., Springfields, Park Road, Hayton, Liverpool.
- 1917 WATTS, GERALD A., Esq., Drumlerry, Londonderry.
- 1901 WEBB, PERCY H., Esq., M.B.E., 4 and 5 West Smithfield, E.C. 1, *President*.
- 1885 *WEBER, F. PARKES, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 13 Harley Street, W. 1.
- 1932 WERNSTROM, ERNEST, Esq., P.O. Box 384 m, San Francisco, U.S.A.
- 1920 *WHEELER, ERNEST H., Esq., 36 Shepherds Hill, N. 6.
- 1915 WHITEHEAD, R. B., Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (retd.), 30 Millington Road, Cambridge.
- 1908 WILLIAMS, T. HENRY, Esq., 15 Stanwick Road, W. 14.
- 1910 WILLIAMS, W. I., Esq., Bryn Deri, Hereford Road, Abergavenny.
- 1906 WOOD, HOWLAND, Esq., Curator of the American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, W. of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1920 *WOODWARD, A. M. TRACEY, Esq., Chateau Millefleurs, Cadaujac, Gironde, France.
- 1920 WOODWARD, W. H., Esq., 702 Chateau St. Louis, Grande Allée, Quebec, Canada.
- 1903 WRIGHT, H. NELSON, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), 42 Ravenscroft Avenue, N.W. 11.

ELECTED

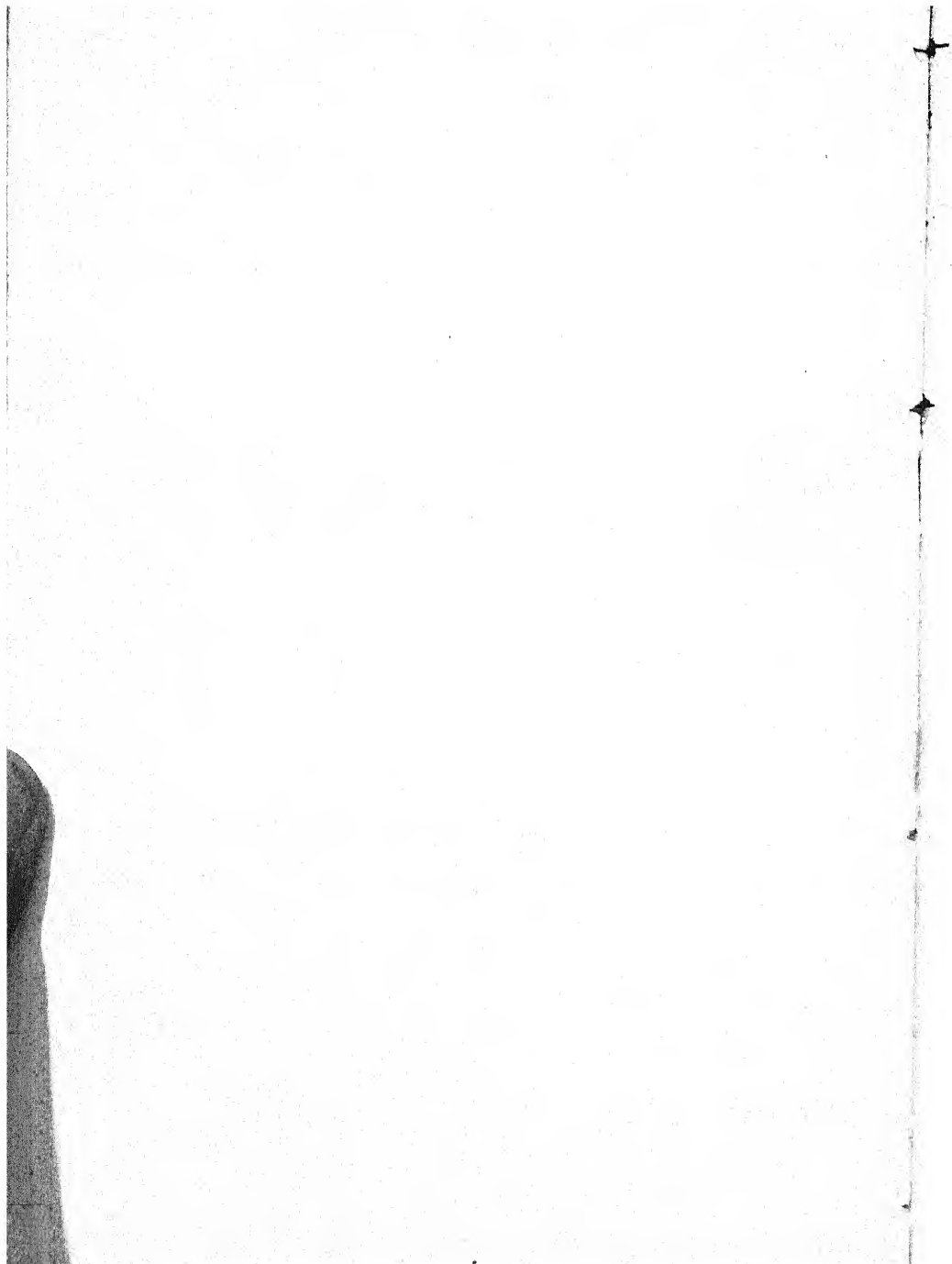
1920 WYMAN, ARTHUR CRAWFORD, Esq., 29 Place Dauphine,
Paris I.

1922 YOANNA, A. DE, Esq., B.A., M.D., 111 Pierrepont Street,
Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.

1932 YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 10 Park Street
Leeds.

1880 YOUNG, ARTHUR W., Esq., 12 Hyde Park Terrace, W. 2.

1919 ZIEGLER, PHILIP, Esq., Lilly Villa, Victoria Park,
Manchester.



HONORARY FELLOWS

ELECTED

- 1898 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY,
Palazzo Quirinale, Rome.
- 1930 ALFÖLDI, PROFESSOR ANDREAS, Ferencz Jozef Rakpart 25,
Budapest.
- 1903 BAHRFELDT, GENERAL DER INFANTERIE A. D., PROFESSOR
MAX VON, Dr.Phil., Zinksgarten-Strasse 2, Halle (Saale),
Germany.
- 1898 BLANCHET, Monsieur ADRIEN, Membre de l'Institut, 10 Bd.
Émile Augier, Paris XVI.
- 1926 DIEUDONNÉ, MONSIEUR A., Conservateur des Médailles,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 1899 GABRICI, PROFESSOR DR. ETTORE, Via Formale 30, Naples.
- 1904 KUBITSCHKEK, PROFESSOR J. W., Pichlergasse 1, Vienna IX.
- 1932 LAFFRANCHI, SIGNOR L., 14 Via Ausonio, Milan.
- 1904 MAURICE, M. JULES, 15 Rue Vaneau, Paris VII.
- 1899 PICK, DR. BEHRENDT, Münzkabinett, Gotha.
- 1932 REGLING, PROF. DR. KURT, Kaiser Friedrich Museum,
Berlin.
- 1926 TOURNEUR, Monsieur VICTOR, Conservateur des Médailles,
Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

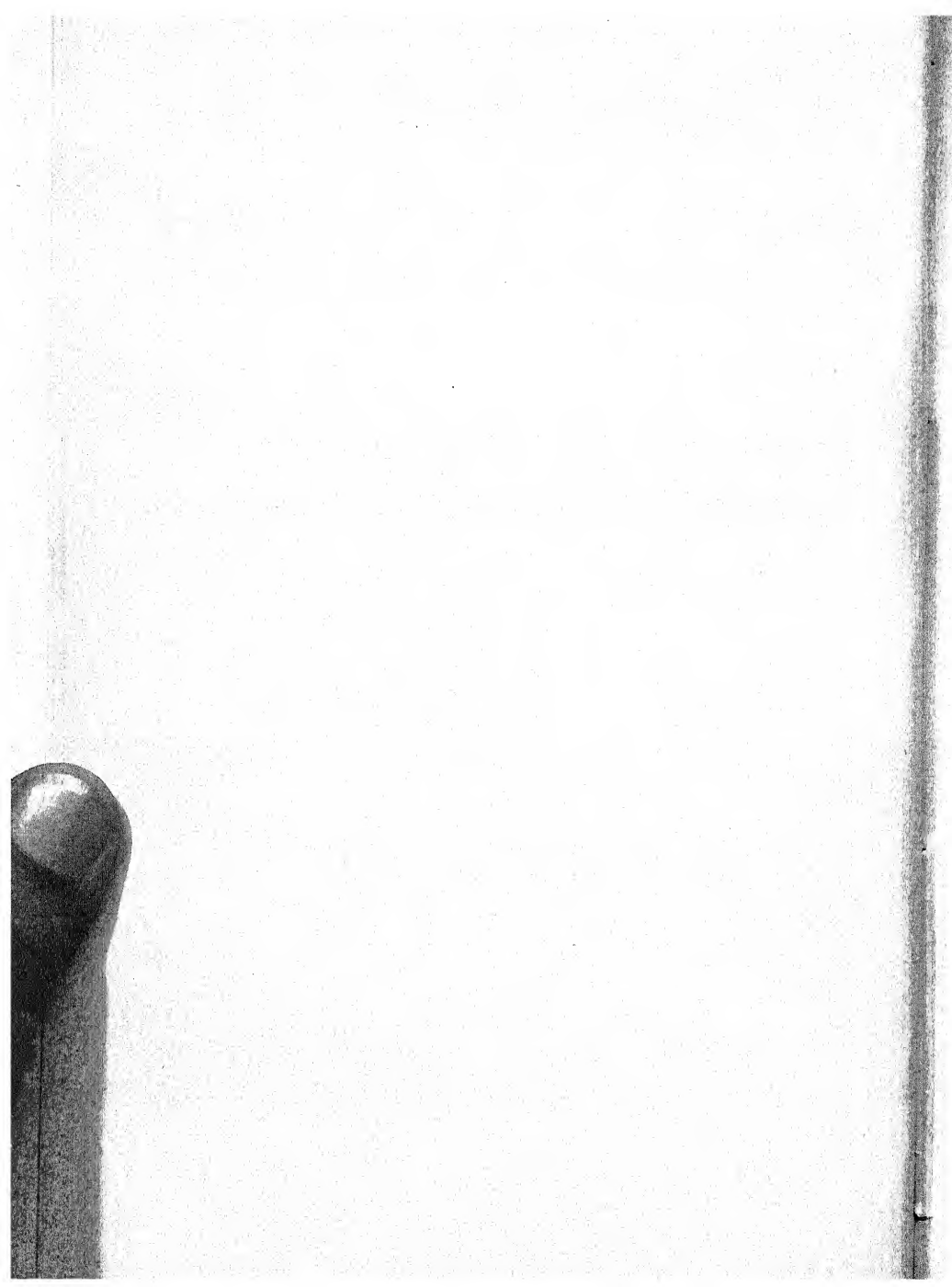
MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ELECTED

- 1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1884 AQUILLA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.
- 1885 EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.
- 1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.
- 1887 JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.
- 1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Winterthur.
- 1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.
- 1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, Amsterdam.
- 1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, Copenhagen.
- 1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.
- 1893 M. W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.
- 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.
- 1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLET, Berlin.
- 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1899 M. ERNEST BABELON, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
- 1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.
- 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1903 M. GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
- 1905 SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.
- 1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.
- 1907 BARCLAY V. HEAD, Esq., D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr. de l'Inst.
- 1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSSEL, Berlin.
- 1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1910 DR. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.
- 1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.
- 1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.
- 1913 GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
- 1914 JEAN N. SVORONOS, Athens.
- 1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.
- 1916 M. THÉODORE REINACH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1918 Not awarded.
- 1919 M. ADRIEN BLANCHET, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX, Esq., and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, Esq.
- 1921 PERCY H. WEBB, Esq.
- 1922 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1923 PROFESSOR J. W. KUBITSCHKE, Vienna.
- 1924 HENRY SYMONDS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1925 EDWARD T. NEWELL, Esq., New York.
- 1926 R. W. MACLACHLAN, Esq., Montreal.
- 1927 M. A. DIEUDONNÉ, Paris.
- 1928 SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.B.A.
- 1929 MONSIEUR JULES MAURICE, Paris.
- 1930 REV. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A.
- 1931 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.
- 1932 H. NELSON WRIGHT, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1931—1932.

OCTOBER 15, 1931.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of May 21 were read and approved.

Professor F. E. Adcock, Messrs. W. J. Bailey, W. Percy Hedley, and Hans Nieter were proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors.

1. Antiquaries Journal, Vol. xi, Pt. 3.
2. British Museum Quarterly, Vol. v, 4; vi. 1.
3. H. Gaebler. Fälschungen Makedonischer Münzen.
4. Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. li, Pt. 1.
5. Lead Byzantine Seals from the Stamoule Collection.
6. S. P. Noe. The Coinage of Metapontum, Pt. 2.
7. Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Vol. i, Pt. 1.
8. L. Waterman. Excavations at Tell Umar.
9. W. Wruck. Die syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Trajan.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a florin of 1848 with milled edge.

Mr. F. S. Salisbury showed an unpublished coin of Salonina: *Obv.* Bust, r. on crescent, SALONINA AVG. *Rev.* Concordia seated l. holding patera and cornucopiae DIDDET. The nearest published coin is No. 2 in Webb, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, v, p. 192, reading

CONCORD AET. The present coin is no doubt an apprentice's blunder for **CONCORDIA AET.**

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited a bronze coin of Verina, wife of Leo I, in extremely fine condition.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher exhibited a 200 cash piece in bronze of the republic of China.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence read a paper continuing his history of the coinage of Edward III. The period treated was from 1356 to 1361, which showed about the requisite number of quarterly privy marks to fill the period. The coins were classified as follows, nos. 1-6 having annulet stops.

1. An annulet under the King's bust and an annulet in one quarter of the reverse; four quarterly varieties known.

2. No annulet under bust; reverse as no. 1; four quarterly varieties known.

3. *Obv.* as 2: *Rev.* saltire in place of annulet; four quarters known.

4. *Rev.* one pellet between A and S of **CIVITAS.**

5. Pellet over crown: *Rev.* pellets in T·A·S of **CIVITAS.**

6. No pellet over crown: *Rev.* as no. 5.

7. Cross stops: late closed E.

8. Cross stops: open E. 18 quarters known.

(This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

NOVEMBER 19, 1931.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of October 15 were read and approved.

Prof. F. E. Adcock, Litt.D., Messrs. W. J. Bailey, W. Percy Hedley, and Hans Nieter were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors.

1. Monsignore G. de Ciccio. Di alcune Monete Siceliote rare e inedite. *From the Author.*
2. J. Grafton Milne. Woodeaton Coins. *From the Author.*
3. Sir Charles Oman. The Coinage of England. *From the Author.*
4. Mitteilungen d. deutsch. Inst. in Rom. 1931. Pts. 1 and 2.
5. Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Vol. xxxi.

Mr. Leopold Messenger showed an as of Julia, daughter of Titus, and an as of Domitian overstruck on Nero.

Sir Charles Oman exhibited unpublished types of Carausius (*rev.* **CONCORDIA AVGGG**) and of Allectus (*rev.* **FELICITAS SAEC**) and three coins struck by Carausius for Diocletian and Maximian with *rev.* **PROVID AVGGG**, **PAX AVGGG**, and **SALVS AVGGG**.

Mr. H. P. Hall showed a series of very rare Roman coins. A denarius of the Claudia gens restored by Trajan: *obv.* head of Marcellus; *rev.* Marcellus dedicating Gaulish spoils in the temple.

an aureus of Julius Caesar restored by Trajan, *obv.* laureate head r., *rev.* Nemesis (Cohen 55);

an aureus of Vespasian restored by Trajan, *obv.* head laur. with full legend, *rev.* captive on his knees at foot of a trophy (Cohen 64);

an aureus of Vespasian restored by Trajan, *obv.* laur. head of Vespasian **DIVVS VESPASIANVS** (no **AVG**).

Rev. thunderbolt on curule chair (Cohen 650 var.);

an aureus of Magnia Urbica (Cohen 2);

an aureus of Valeria, *rev.* exergue **S M N** (Cohen 1);

an aureus of Fausta, *rev.* exergue **SIKM** (Cohen 4);

a second brass of Galerius Antoninus (Cohen 2).

Mr. B. H. St. John O'Neil read a note on a find of Roman denarii from a Roman villa at Camborne. (This paper was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1931, pp. 233-4.)

Sir Charles Oman discussed a proclamation of Queen Elizabeth of March 1562 of which no printed copy is known.

It purports to restore cheap prices by calling down the new good coinage. Sir Charles believed that it could not be an official document, for its date comes between a proclamation of January and a more drastic one of March, both genuine, threatening any one calling down the good money. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 1-12.)

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of November 19 were read and approved.

Mr. John Walker was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors.

1. Annual Report of the Royal Mint for 1931.
2. *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. xlii.
3. A. W. Botham. *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Assam*, 2nd edition.
4. R. Gassauer. *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Moldauischen Münzkunde*.
5. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XLI, Pts. 1 and 2.

The President read the following tribute to the memory and work of the late Mr. Frederick A. Walters, and a resolution of sympathy with his widow was passed:

"We must record to-night with much regret the passing of our Fellow and valued friend Mr. Frederick Arthur Walters. We shall greatly miss his kindly presence and his wise and always courteous intervention in our debates.

"Mr. Walters joined our Society in 1897. He had from his youth been a collector of coins and, more than that, a student of them, and very few years after his election he commenced to contribute a series of nearly twenty papers to our *Chronicle*.

"My learned predecessor in this Chair, when presenting our Medal to him in 1922, described them as 'amounting to something like a continuous history of English coinage from the time of Edward III to that of Henry the VIII'. His work was not confined to English Numismatics, for he made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Roman series, in his description of the important find at Croydon and otherwise. It was his particular pleasure to study the rarer reverses, and he has often interested us by the exhibition of such pieces. He was a very regular attendant at our meetings and had served for many years on our Council and had been Secretary and Vice-President.

"His profession was that of an architect, and in that he was a man of great mark—of excellent art and skill. By religion a Roman Catholic, it fell to him to design and erect a large number of churches and other ecclesiastical buildings, schools, &c. I have before me a list comprising more than 100 names. Nottingham, Plymouth, and St. George's Cathedrals and Downside Abbey, though not built by him, owe much to his exceeding artistry in their interior decoration. Many altars and vestments were designed by him. His preference in architecture was for the Gothic style and in this he had few, if any, superiors.

"His buildings, all dignified, do much to beautify our land, and will keep his memory green through centuries to come.

"His greatest work, a labour of forty years, was the splendid restoration and rebuilding of Buckfast Abbey, Devon, and we must regret that he passed on while a little yet remains to be done to complete it.

"He died on the 3rd instant, very little short of the good age of 84, and had the great satisfaction that, until the last, he had not entirely to abandon the active practice of his profession.

"I ask you to authorize our Hon. Secretary to assure his widow and family of our sincere and deep sympathy with them and of our full appreciation of the loss which our Society has sustained by his death."

The evening was devoted to exhibitions :

Mr. C. J. Bunn exhibited bronze coins of Bruttium, Sidon, Istrus, and the Seleucids.

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger showed an imperial bronze coin of Septimius Severus of Anchialus, *rev.* Apollo and another of Gordian III and Tranquillina of Marcianopolis, *rev.* Fortune.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited two specimens of early Australian currency :—

A copper advertising check *obv.* JOSEPH LANE & SON BULLION DEALERS & REFINERS 3 GT. CHARLES STREET BIRMINGHAM, *rev.* REFINED AUSTRALIAN COPPER FOR ALLOYING GOLD, and a pattern half-penny of George III of 1790 by Jean Pierre Droz with an ornamental edge. Both the pieces came from Australia in an old collection of tokens, and there is little doubt that they were current there.

Mr. Garside also showed Belgian ten franc pieces of French and Flemish types commemorating the centenary of Belgian independence (1830-1930), and Brazilian 1000 reis and 500 reis in aluminium bronze commemorating the centenary of Brazilian independence.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison showed a facsimile of the 200 mohur piece of Shah Jahan.

Mr. Philip Thorburn exhibited a dinar of the Bahri Mamluk Haji II of Damascus, 784 A.H. and a Samanid dinar of Nasr II b. Ahmad of Ma'adin, 330 A.H.

Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A., showed three boxes of money-changers' scales and weights :—

1. A box of English scales and weights of the time of Charles I.
2. A box of Dutch scales and weights issued by Roelof van der Schure of Amsterdam, 1657, a very fine box with silver hooks: all but five of the thirty-one weights stamped with R. van der Schure's mark.
3. A box of Dutch scales and weights issued by N. Listing of Amsterdam, 165 (?)9. The box itself was doubtless made by the

same maker as no. 2. All twenty-two weights are stamped with the mark of Jacobus Listing (probably father of N. Listing): viz. his coat of arms: sable: a serpent on a bend—probably a canting allusion to the meaning of his name.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher showed 41 copper tokens of Ulster (1784-61), 17 tokens issued in Paris during the French Revolution, and a series of 3 heller pieces of Hesse-Cassel, 1728-55.

The President showed a follis of Alexander the Tyrant of Carthage, A.D. 311, and a third brass of Martinian (Cohen 41).

Dr. Sidney H. Fairbairn exhibited a rare medal of the taking of the Bastille and a medal of the Fête of the Confederation, 1790, with obliterated legend.

Mr. H. P. Hall showed a series of first brass coins of Septimius Severus and his family (84 pieces in all) and a large brass of Galerius Antoninus and Faustina.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited a further series of 12 fine Roman aurei from his collection, viz.—Constantius Chlorus (Cohen 306), Gal. Maximian (C. 121), Licinius I (C. 158), Constantine I (C. 105), Constantine II (C. 152), Constantius II (C. 108), Constans (C. 153), Magnentius (C. 48), Decentius (C. 26 var.), Constantius Gallus (C. 24), Julian II (C. 78), and Jovian (C. 8).

Mr. J. W. E. Pearce exhibited a series of casts from the British Museum, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Sir Arthur Evans collections, illustrating *vota*, and contemporary coins of Treviri after the death of Valentinian I.

JANUARY 21, 1932.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of December 17 were read and approved.

Mr. John Walker was elected a Fellow of the Society, and Messrs. Ernest Weststrom, E. W. Hildyard, and David Mitchell were proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors.

1. Antiquaries Journal, 1932, Vol. xii, Pt. 1.
2. British Museum Quarterly, Vol. vi, 3.
3. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1931, Pt. 1.
4. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1930-31.
5. Revue Numismatique, 1931, Pts. 3 and 4.
6. Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1931.

Sir Charles Oman exhibited fine aurei of Antoninus Pius, Faustina I, and Lucius Verus.

Mr. Philip Thorburn showed a gold medal awarded to R. Thorburn, A.R.A., R.S.A., for miniature painting at the Paris Exhibition of 1855.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher showed a penny token of Dundee, 1797, with a view of the Town House, and a Scottish colliery token with legend "a load of round coales".

Mr. F. S. Salisbury exhibited overstrikes of Carausius on Claudius Gothicus and Victorinus and a variety of Gallienus (Webb, *R.I.C.*, v, no. 164) on which the centaur carries a globe and rudder instead of a trophy.

Mr. Henry Garside showed a set of the new silver and bronze coins of South Africa with altered reverse design.

Mr. Harold Mattingly read a paper on the "Golden Age in Roman Coins". After acknowledging his debt to the work of Professor Alföldi, Mr. Mattingly traced the thought of a return to an age of bliss and righteousness from the civil wars following Caesar's death to the fourth century of the empire. The symbolism appropriate to the golden age was illustrated and discussed and attention drawn to special occasions when the thought was peculiarly appropriate, e.g. 69-76, 118-21, 340 A.D. The influence of literary thought, notably in Virgil's fourth Eclogue, was illustrated at several points.

FEBRUARY 18, 1932.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of January 21 were read and approved.

Messrs. E. Wernstrom, E. W. Hildyard, and David D. Mitchell were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to the Donors.

1. Dr. B. Pick. Aufsätze zur Numismatik. *From the Author.*
2. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1931, Pt. 2.

Mr. Garside exhibited a 20, 10, and 5 lire piece of San Marino, 1931.

Mr. J. W. E. Pearce read a paper on the Urbs Roma type on siliquae of Treviri in the period 370-90 A.D. By a close study of the varieties in the portraiture of the emperors on obverse and details of chair, spear, and victory on reverse, he was able to mark the coinage out into classes and by careful attention to corrections of style and die identities to establish a probable chronological order. In connexion with the later issues of Urbs Roma, he outlined a new theory of the use of Vota types in the late fourth century and offered strong evidence in favour of it from the coinage of Gratian. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

MARCH 17, 1932.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of February 18 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors.

1. G. C. Brooke. English Coins. *From the Author.*
2. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1930.

3. Syria, Vol. xii, Pt. 4.
4. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, 1931, Pt. 2.
5. The School of Pythagoras.

From the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

The President referred to the loss sustained by the Society through the death of Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited the Belgian nickel 5 franc piece of 1931 of the French and Belgian types.

The President showed a moidore of John V of Portugal of Rio mint.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison exhibited a solidus of Leo III and Constantine V and a half dobra of Peter III and Maria of Portugal.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., exhibited four curious denarii of Augustus.

Mr. W. C. Wells read a paper on "The Pipe Rolls and Defalta Monetarium" in which he collected the Pipe Roll entries relating to the mints of Norwich, Ipswich, Thetford, Colchester, Winchester, and York. (This paper was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1931, pp. 261-90.)

APRIL 21, 1932.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of March 17 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors.

1. Antiquaries Journal, Vol. xii, Pt. 2.
2. Frank Higgins. Copper Coins of Europe.

Presented by Fredk. A. Harrison, Esq.

3. Viktor Katz. Die Erzgebirgische Prägmédaille des XVII^{ten} Jahrhunderts.

4. Revue Numismatique Tchecoslovaque, Vol. viii, 1, 2.

Dr. Kurt Regling and Signor L. Laffranchi were elected Honorary Fellows of the Society.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a set of the coins of the Vatican State of 1930, ten and five lire in silver, two lire and lire, 50 and 20 centesimi in nickel, and ten and five centesimi in bronze, all struck at the Italian Mint in Rome.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison exhibited a half-sovereign of South Africa of 1926.

Mr. Sydenham showed a series of coins to illustrate his paper.

The Rev. E. A. Sydenham read a paper on "The Roman Victoriante". He began by reminding his hearers that there has been a tendency to date early Roman coins too early and that the correct order of the issue has been seriously deranged thereby. The victoriate may be confidently claimed as an earlier coin than the denarius; yet, because the date 269 B.C. has been accepted as the origin of the denarius, the victoriate has regularly been placed after it. Mr. Sydenham then studied the history of the victoriate, showing the two main classes into which it falls, and the issues of Capua, Agrigentum, Thessaly, Achaea, Boeotia, &c., which show some contact with its types. His main conclusion was that the victoriate was mainly a coin of the Eastern wars that followed the Hannibalic, though its origin might have to be sought nearly ten years earlier. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.) In the discussion that followed Sir Charles Oman, Messrs. Mattingly and Robinson took part.

MAY 19, 1932.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of April 21 were read and approved.

Mr. Lloyd C. Briggs and Captain M. F. C. Martin were proposed for election.

Messrs. H. Garside and Leopold Messenger were appointed to audit the Society's accounts.

Lt.-Col. Morrieson, F.S.A., exhibited a series of coins by

Thomas Simon:—a Cromwell shilling and pattern broad, half-crown (first issue) and Scotch $\frac{1}{2}$ merk of Charles II and an electrotype of the Petition crown.

Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A., showed the silver Coronation Medal of Charles II by Thomas Simon.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a French 50 centime of 1931 in aluminium bronze, a German bronze 4 pfennig piece of 1932, a new denomination and a silver 2 kronor piece of Sweden, struck in 1897 to commemorate the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Oscar II (1872-97).

The President exhibited a quinarius of Constantine II on which he read the following note:

This coin is Cohen 348 and was formerly in the Capranesi Collection, eventually passing into the Martinetti Collection from whence I had it. Both in Cohen and in the Martinetti Catalogue it is described as "unique" and I believe that that description has not been questioned.

Obv. D N CONSTANTIVS P F A (VG). Diademed half-length bust to left, in imperial mantle holding sceptre which appears to be surmounted by an eagle. *Rev.* Without legend. A figure in a slow biga of mules proceeding to left.

Cohen describes this figure as the emperor holding a victory but the Martinetti description is "Emperor or divinity holding a sistrum in a biga of mules". I venture to think that the alternative Martinetti description is the more correct one and to suggest that the figure is female, perhaps that of Isis, though it may be somewhat surprising to find a most Christian emperor associated with a heathen goddess. The portrait of the emperor on the obverse is youthful, and seeing that there is also a "pagan" coin of his brother Crispus one might suggest a date for the coin before the definite adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire. It must, however, be admitted that the style of the coin is late and remembered that there is a "pagan" coin of Jovian.

Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin exhibited a unique and unpublished pattern for the three pound piece of Charles I, a fine series of coins and medals by Thomas Simon, and several speci-

mens of the work of Simon de Passe. Mr. A. H. Baldwin sent for exhibition an unpublished royal farthing token.

Obv. Crown TAM COMMVNI QVAM.

Rev. Rose BONO PAUPERVM rose.

and two rare farthings of Charles I with mm. cross and lis, and a York half-crown of Charles I showing the letter in the O of EBOR to be R and not B.

Miss Farquhar read a paper on Thomas Simon, "one of our chiefe gravers". She summarized the career of the artist, correcting errors in current opinion of his birth and of his official position after the Restoration. He worked down to the time of his death in 1665, as one of the chief gravers, and had allotted to him the house provided for Briot by Charles I. The famous contest between Simon and the brothers Roettiers took place before the end of the year 1662 (old style); the celebrated Petition Crown, which is dated 1663, was not, therefore, the piece submitted by Simon for the contest, but was made afterwards as a special plea for the king's favour. It is possible that designs only were submitted for the contest. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

JUNE 16, 1932.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 18, 1931, were read and approved.

Messrs. R. B. Whitehead and John Walker were appointed Scrutineers of the Ballot.

Capt. M. F. C. Martin and Mr. Lloyd Cabot Briggs were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Report of the Council was laid before the Society:

The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the death of one Honorary Fellow:

Arthur Loebbecke:

and of seven Fellows of the Society:

Lionel E. Fletcher
William Gunn
R. Lloyd Kenyon
Henry Oppenheimer

Col. the Hon. Milo G.
Talbot
Mrs. Sidney Streatfeild
Fredk. A. Walters

They have also to report the resignation of the following six Fellows:

Herbert A. Druce
E. A. Elliott
Harrold Gillingham
Wing-Commander O.B.
Hubbard

Sir Robert Johnson
The Kent Numismatic
Society

On the other hand, they have to report the election of the following two Honorary Fellows:

Signor L. Laffranchi and Professor Kurt Regling

and of the following twelve Fellows:

Prof. F. E. Adcock
Lloyd C. Briggs, Esq.
William J. Bailey, Esq.
M. Percy Hedley, Esq.
E. W. Hildyard, Esq.
Capt. M. F. C. Martin
David D. Mitchell, Esq.

Hans Nieter, Esq.
John Walker, Esq.
Ernest Wernstrom, Esq.
The University Library of
Oslo
The Yorkshire Archaeo-
logical Society

The number of Fellows is therefore :

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1931	231	11	242
Since elected	12	2	14
	<hr/> 243	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 256
Deceased	7	1	8
Resigned	6	—	6
	<hr/> 230	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 242

The Council have also to report that they have awarded the Society's Medal to Mr. H. Nelson Wright in recognition of his work on the Muhammadan coins of India, in particular his two volumes of *The Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*.

The Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then laid before the Meeting:

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

YEAR ENDING

Dr.

G. C. HAINES, HON. TREASURER,

	£	s.	d.
<i>To cost of Numismatic Chronicles</i>	345	13	5
„ <i>Rent of Rooms</i>	50	0	0
„ <i>Refreshments, &c.</i>	5	2	3
„ <i>Lantern Expenses</i>	9	16	0
„ <i>Insurances</i>	3	15	0
„ <i>Bookbinding</i>	2	3	6
„ <i>Printing and Stationery</i>	8	9	0
„ <i>Sundries</i>	11	8	6
	<hr/>		
	£436	7	8
„ <i>Balance at Bank 31. 5. 32. carried forward—</i> £		s.	d.
General Account	206	8	7
Research Account	4	6	0
	<hr/>		
	210	14	7
	<hr/>		
	£647	2	3
	<hr/>		

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

MAY 31st, 1932.

IN ACCOUNT WITH THE SOCIETY.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>By Balance at Bank 1. 6. 31. brought forward—</i>						
General Account	186	4	8			
Research Account	4	2	5			
				190	7	1
„ Entrance Fees	9	9	0			
„ Subscriptions	319	12	7			
				329	1	7
„ Sales of Chronicles				92	1	0
„ Dividends and Interest						
£200 5% Conversion Stock 1944-64 (N.B. Market price 108 = £216 0s. 0d.)	10	0	0			
£942 London, Midland and Scottish Railway, 4% Preference Stock (N.B. Market price 31½ = £296 14s. 8d.)	37	13	6			
	47	13	6			
Less Income Tax deducted	12	0	11			
				85	12	7
				£647	2	3

G. C. HAINES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER, }
HENRY GARSIDE, } *Hon. Auditors.*

June 9, 1932.

The Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

The President then presented the Society's Medal to Mr. H. Nelson Wright, and said :

The thoughts of the Fellows of this Society and of all patriotic Englishmen have of late turned often towards our Indian Empire, and our great sympathy is with it in its troubles—troubles which many of us believe to be largely due to weakness and vacillation in the past, and to be curable by the exercise of wisdom and strength in the future.

Though but few of us are large collectors of Oriental coins, there is in them a special attraction in that they are sprung from an artistic source entirely distinct from those from which our Western series are descended, and many of us have a few specimens of them in our cabinets. Papers dealing with them frequently appear in our *Chronicle* and are always appreciated for their historic and numismatic interest.

In recognition of that interest and of your own great services to so great and important a branch of study, the Council has much pleasure in conferring the medal of honour of the Society on you.

I have heard you described as the founder of Indian numismatics. You may disclaim that description, but at least you have done very much to increase our knowledge of them.

You were a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service for 35 years, being mainly engaged in judicial work, and you very soon appreciated the historical as well as the artistic interest of the coins of India which, as do those of the West, throw light where history fails. Your first important contribution to numismatics appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1900. It dealt with the coins of the Sultans of Delhi, a series to which you have always given special attention. Soon afterwards you began to devote the scanty leisure of a busy Indian Civil Servant to the preparation of a catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in

the Indian Museum, which appeared in two volumes in 1907 and 1908.

The first deals with the period from A.D. 1000 to 1550, the coins of the Sultans of Delhi and the various independent kingdoms into which it broke up on the weakening of the Central Government—Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, &c. The second covers the coins of the Moghul empire from about 1550 to 1856. Both these volumes at once took their place as standard works, a position they still hold. Since your retirement you have been preparing your *magnum opus* on the coins of the Sultans of Delhi, which will bring together all that modern research, chiefly your own, has discovered about this important series since the publication of Thomas's great work in 1871. Unfortunately the Government of India, for whom the work was undertaken, now pleads lack of funds as an excuse for not publishing it, so that we cannot associate the presentation of the medal with it. It is the hope of all who know the time and labour you have devoted to the subject that its publication will not be long delayed.

You have been a Fellow of this Society for 30 years and were one of the prime movers in founding the Numismatic Society of India, which can now look back on more than 20 years of successful activity. The Society has done a great deal to organize and stimulate numismatic research in India and is likely to be a lasting memorial to its founders.

It is especially fitting that you should receive our medal, for in 1911 you presented the Indian Society with a medal to be awarded annually for distinguished research, and it was a remarkable tribute to your own work in India that when you came home the Indian Society presented you with that medal in gold, the only occasion on which it has been struck in gold or is likely to be.

In addition to your major works, you have constantly contributed papers to the *Numismatic Supplement* to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. One on the metrology of the Delhi period anticipates what will be found on

that subject in your corpus of the Delhi coins when it at last issues from the press.

One of the most distinguished names on the roll of medalists of the Royal Numismatic Society is that of Edward Thomas, and it is a pleasure to add to the series your name, which will always be associated with that of Thomas by students of Indian numismatics.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright, in reply, said :

It was a very proud moment in my life when I read our Secretary's letter telling me of this award, and I shall never forget it.

My gratification was, if I may say so, enhanced by the unexpected nature of the announcement. Indeed, when I looked down the list of former recipients of this medal I began to wonder if and how I was worthy of inclusion in such distinguished company.

I should like to take this opportunity of paying homage and expressing my obligations to one of the earliest of those recipients. I refer to that inspiring pioneer Edward Thomas, to whom the medal was awarded in 1885.

I have journeyed much along the path that he cleared in the untrodden jungle of Indian numismatics, and if I have had to deviate in some places from that path, it is not in any spirit of depreciation of his magnificent efforts, but only because the lapse of time has, as it was bound to do, discovered easier gradients and by-passes. It was with a view to bringing his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* into line with recent acquisitions that I undertook the work which has been held up in its final stage by financial stringency in India.

One aspect of your award is peculiarly pleasing to me—I mean the recognition given—*longo intervallo*—to Indian numismatics. It will be a great encouragement. Anything that I have done in that line is largely due to the co-operation of fellow-enthusiasts. It is never healthy or profitable to plough a lonely furrow even in a hobby like coin-collecting. I think I may say that we were a peculiarly happy little

band of coin-collectors in India in the first quarter of this century, visiting each other in spite of long distances, corresponding freely, and generally helping and enthusing each other. And it was for that reason that we were able to start in 1910 and run effectively a Numismatic Society of India which, I am glad to say, still functions. We were also able in several other ways to put the study of Indian coins on a more satisfactory basis.

May I recall the names of some of my colleagues. There was in the first place that scholarly and singularly lovable man, Dr. George Taylor—the Nestor of our small army.

There was my friend of many years, Bertram Whitehead, whose excellent work is too well known to you for me to dilate on here. There were Cecil Brown of Lucknow, Richard Burn, Henry Nevill, and, later, Professor Hodivala, who by his intimate acquaintance with the vernacular histories has solved so many knotty problems in regard to coins. All of them have in one way or another left their mark on Indian numismatics. And behind us at all times was that great tower of strength, your Secretary, John Allan—always helpful in difficulties, always ready to make our rough places smooth. What we should have done without him I do not know.

I like, therefore, to think that in paying me this compliment to-night you are paying it also to my fellow-workers. They deserve it every bit as much as I do. I rather feel that while they helped to crack the crib I have managed to get away with the swag.

I thank you, Mr. President, for your very kind remarks, and I thank the Council and Fellows for the high honour they have conferred on me.

The President then delivered his Annual Address :

You have heard the reports of the Council and the Hon. Treasurer. It is a matter for congratulation that, even in the difficult time through which the country is now passing, our membership shows no diminution and our finance is still sound.

We must, however, turn with unusually great regret to the list of Fellows who have been removed from us by death during the past session, for many of them were recently or in bygone days strong supporters of the Society. Herr Loebbecke was our oldest Honorary Fellow, a collector of Greek coins and Renaissance medals. The name of Kenyon has for long been intimately connected with numismatics, and Mr. R. Lloyd Kenyon's work is well known.

Mrs. Streatfeild was a constant attendant at our meetings at Albemarle Street. She bequeathed her collection of Greek coins to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

Col. the Hon. Milo G. Talbot, C.B., had served his country with much distinction and was a collector of Roman and Oriental coins.

Mr. Henry Oppenheimer was a great collector of Renaissance art, including medals. Mr. William Gunn, residing too far from London to enable him to attend our meetings, was a collector of Roman coins who rarely omitted to send a cheery word of greeting to your Hon. Treasurer with his subscription. He bequeathed his collections to the Leeds Philosophical Society.

Of the deep regret with which we parted from Messrs. Walters and Fletcher we have already spoken in this room.

The business of the Society has pursued a steady course throughout its year now ending. It has produced much good work, but I have not to discuss any papers quite so important as those of Sir Arthur Evans on the Arras find and Professor Alföldi on the "Victories of Gallienus" of which we spoke last year. The scope of this year's papers has, however, been wide, and each of them has added something to our knowledge.

Signor Ettore Gabrici communicated to us some notes on the ever-interesting subject of the Sicilian coinage. He dealt with a number of hitherto unpublished or inaccurately published coins from the Palermo Museum, and suggested that there is much more material there which merits careful study. He is able to collect from the pieces published evidence which seems to show that the activity of the mints

of Himera, Segesta, and Eryx must have ceased in or about 409 B.C., and been superseded by that of Panormus and Motya, working for the victorious Carthaginians, and that a general reorganization of the coinage took place in about 404 B.C. One coin justifiably attributed to Machara adds that town to the number of Sicilian mints known to us.

The inscription [K]PIMIZΞAION identifies the town of Crimissa and shows that the belief derived from imperfect inscriptions that the reference was to the river Κρίμισος was unfounded.

Dr. Grafton Milne discussed the coins of Elis and gave statistics as to the relative lives of obverse and reverse dies. In Alexandria, where the greatest regularity of die-position was obtained, perhaps by means of a mechanical guiding of the fall of the upper (reverse) dies, and where it is probable that the obverse had the advantage of being firmly set in the anvil, an obverse may be found in use with as many as eight or nine reverses, while, notwithstanding that the failure of an obverse must have sometimes occurred directly after the introduction of a new reverse, it is very rare that a reverse die is found coupled with two obverses—never with more.

This year it cannot be charged against our Editors that they have permitted Roman numismatists to occupy an undue share of the *Chronicle*, but that branch of our study has not been neglected. The first place must be given to Mr. Sydenham's paper on the Victoriatus, which presents an entirely new view of the early silver coinage of Rome and its dependencies. He shows that the Victoriates series is not a mere supplemental trade issue as Pliny would have us believe, and contends, I think conclusively, that it was an earlier issue than that which comprised the denarius, quinarius, and sesterce. He shows that the Victoriati may be divided into two main sections, the later of which was gradually reduced in weight until, as he believes, it became absorbed in the then current coinage of Rome itself, and eventually displaced the quinarius. As to this there may be some question. He admits that the coins were at first

struck outside Rome, but suggests that, after the assimilation with the quinarius, they may have been issued in that city.

He places the date of the first issues of silver coinage in the Roman state much later than our predecessors did, and in this he has the support of contemporary English numismatic opinion. He suggests that the first issue of the Victoriata series took place not earlier than 213 B.C., perhaps a few years later, and that it disappeared in or shortly after 168 B.C.

In this period there was a break at or about 187 B.C., which lasted until 175 B.C., and in those years it is probable that the issue of the denarius and its fractions commenced and was in fact the only silver coinage struck. Then the Victoriata appears again, and continues in joint issue till 168 B.C., by which time its weight had declined almost to that of the quinarius. The evidence on which his conclusions are based is fully set out, and the paper is a model of logical deduction. It has not yet appeared in print, and it will be interesting to see what criticism it evokes from those who read it.

Short papers have been numerous. Dr. Karl Pink has usefully supplemented the coming volume of Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Imperial Coinage* by a paper on the bronze medallions of Gordianus Pius, a remarkable series of which he gives a full list. Then we must mention a number of papers dealing with finds in the East and elsewhere which throw light on the monetary conditions of the Roman Empire in and after the third century.

Dr. Hill records a find at Nineveh of tetradrachms of Antioch, didrachms of Caesarea, Parthian drachms, and Roman denarii, the latter ranging from Galba to Caracalla.

Mr. Hugh Goodacre publishes some rare coins in that Byzantine series which he has made his own, and Mr. Mattingly notes the considerable number of coins of Claudian date which have been found from time to time near Lincoln and include a number of barbarous imitations, probably of local origin.

They perhaps afford an additional grain of evidence in

support of the theory to which I have always been inclined, that coins were struck in Britain, officially or unofficially, long before the opening of the first mint which we recognize.

Mr. Mattingly also speaks of the fine series of Alexandrian coins of Antinous which were in the Peckitt Collection, and discusses a late Roman hoard from Corinth.

Our Miscellanea also include an account by Mr. Christopher Blunt of eighteen coins found at Stiffkey in Norfolk. The composition of the hoard is noteworthy, comprising as it did one coin of Volusian, five of Gallienus and his family, seven of Postumus, and five of Victorinus.

Mr. J. W. E. Pearce discusses a late hoard of small bronze from Egypt, in which the few legitimate Roman coins (much worn) were intermingled with a large number of local imitations struck in very poor alloy and sometimes in pure lead. He follows Dr. Milne in the belief that the whole of this debased coinage must be considered as a mass of tokens accepted as all of the same value. He also discusses a late Syrian hoard of Æ^3 and Æ^4 of about the same date which is in the possession of Mr. T. W. Armitage.

Mr. St. John O'Neil lists the coins found at the Roman villa at Magor Farm, Camborne, Cornwall, which commenced with eight denarii from Faustina to Julia Mamaea, and also comprised six antoniniani from Gallienus to Tetricus, three Roman and three Gallic. It must be noted that the denarii formed a separate deposit from the later coins.

In the sphere of English numismatics we have now in print a paper read last year, by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, giving a long and detailed account of the considerable hoard of coins of Edward I to Edward III found at Durham in May 1930. Though at first shared by the workmen who found them, they were fortunately recovered (as also were portions of the jar which contained them) and sent to the British Museum. They numbered 547; pennies predominated, but there were 113 groats and half-groats and three half-pennies. Scottish pennies numbered 9 and were accompanied by one half-groat of David II. There were eight continental sterlings, including one of John the Blind of

Bohemia. The study of the series to which these coins belong has reached to great particularity, but the hoard contributed a few new types and much useful detail. It has provided a valuable addition to the National Collection.

Mr. Lawrence also communicated a note on what he describes as a "remarkable and unique standard for the coinage of Edward I". There are several references to these standards in the records, and this specimen shows that pieces have been clipped off it, no doubt for the purpose of assay. There are, however, interesting problems connected with it which remain for elucidation.

Mr. W. C. Wells laid before us a paper dealing with certain entries of *defalta monetariorum* in the Pipe Rolls of the reign of King Henry II and his sons. These entries have been generally considered to refer to fines inflicted on the mints in consequence of failures of local moneyers to carry out their duties, but Mr. Wells showed, following Messrs. W. J. Andrew and Carlyon-Britton, that they record allowances made by the Crown to the local mints because of reductions in the number of artificers to which they were respectively entitled which had taken place. The mint-town had lost benefits which would have accrued to it had its mint been fully at work, and therefore its contribution to the Exchequer was proportionately diminished. In compiling a list of such allowances, the author has done a valuable service to the students of the period, and enabled them to check or verify some of their conclusions as to the coinage. The paper gives us some additional insight to the business of the provision of coinage in the Middle Ages, and suggests other lines on which inquiry might profitably be pursued. In what did the value of a mint to the town actually consist? Was it in profit made by its operations, or did it arise from the advantage to local trade of having a mint at its doors, a parallel to the advantage which a small country town now draws from the opening of a branch bank there? Again we may ask, on what principle were the mints allotted to the smaller towns? The reasons for the selection of great mint-cities are perhaps obvious, but we may wonder

how far the choice of smaller places was dependent on payments made by them to the Crown. A minor question is, why the amount of the allowance per moneyer in default differed in different places, and was apparently greater in the small mints than in the larger ones. We find Thetford, Norwich, Ipswich, and others receiving an allowance of £1 per moneyer, while York gets 13s. 4d. and Winchester 10s. only. One might suggest that the loss of one moneyer of a small mint might be a ground for heavier compensation than a similar loss in a large one, but that cannot be the explanation of the difference for, when Winchester, whose mint must have been very important to both State and locality, lost all its eight moneyers, it received an allowance of £4 only. We may hope for more light on these and other points which arise out of this useful paper.

Miss Farquhar has once more dealt with her favourite period, that of the Stuarts, in an essay on Thomas Simon, whom she rightly calls "the most celebrated English medal-list of the seventeenth century". She had, I think, no need to qualify his fame by mention of the century in which he lived, for it was impossible to examine the remarkable exhibits from her cabinet and from those of Col. Morrieson, the Messrs. Baldwin, and other Fellows, which her paper induced, and doubt that his work surpassed that of all other English medallists. Much of the material of the essayist is taken from the private minute-book of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles II, and she is able to construct a history of Simon's life. She shows that we may rightfully claim him as an Englishman and indeed as a Londoner for, though his family was probably of French descent, his father was born and resident in London, and he generally lived there. In his will he calls himself a citizen of that city, and deals with real property situate there and in Kent. His parents were married in 1611 and if, as seems fairly certain, he was the eldest son, we may assume his birth soon after that date. In his youth he became a pupil of the hardly less famous Briot, and no doubt owed much to him. When he first worked

on his own account is somewhat uncertain, but certainly before 1640, perhaps as early as 1636. He was, like many of his predecessors in classical times, willing, or perhaps compelled, to work for successive rulers, for we find him ennobling the coinage of Charles I, Cromwell, and Charles II.

The office of Chief Engraver was conferred on him by Parliament, and we may hope, with our author, that he was not responsible for the "breeches pieces" of that period. His Dunbar medals and portrait pieces of Cromwell were very fine. Cromwell's description of him as "ingenious and worthy of encouragement" is delightful. Rawlins had been appointed by Charles I as "Chief Engraver", so Simon could, under Charles II, only be described as "one of our chief engravers", but he seems to have borne the greater burden of the more artistic work. Miss Farquhar follows him through his various works both of coins and medals and fully discusses the struggle with the Roettiers, themselves no mean artists. Alas, she finds it necessary to dethrone the Petition Crown from its position as Simon's contribution to the "Tryall of Skill" between them. I am afraid we must agree with her, and forgive the destruction of a cherished illusion in consideration of the great services which in previous works she has rendered to the fame of the Tudor and Stuart engravers; and after all, though the king did not grant the petition of Simon, posterity has done so, and honours him as the greatest of Chief Engravers. He died in the summer of 1665.

Dr. Hill's busy pen has taken us for a moment from the usual fields of our study to provide us with "Some dates in the Career of Pisanello", gleanings from the meticulous research of himself and others.

Turning to our Indian Empire, we find a continuation by Mr. R. B. Whitehead of his paper published in 1929 on the "Portrait Medals and Zodiacal coins of the Emperor Jahangir". From the former paper we learnt that the falling away of Akbar from the Muhammadan faith left his moneyers free to strike coins bearing portraits and the signs

of the Zodiac, and the portrait pieces, probably medals, were there dealt with. The much longer paper of his this year deals with the Zodiacal coins, and is well illustrated by four plates. Although the designs bear traces of the influence of Western art, the author does not think that any Western engraver was employed. Many of the pieces now existing are forgeries, and Mr. Whitehead, in publishing a list of the series, carefully examines the validity of each specimen.

The issue of the small state of Malwa, interesting by reason of its preference for square coins and its unusually free use of ornaments which are perhaps mint-marks, is treated by Mr. H. Nelson Wright. It has been suggested that the more important of these ornaments are the personal marks of the moneyers, while the lesser ones distinguish series. The symbols employed can often be traced back to the earliest period of Indian civilization, and it is curious to find them on Muhammadan coins. Mr. Nelson Wright thinks that they may have been handed down from generation to generation as lucky signs, though their original meaning had long been lost. He fully describes, and at the end of his paper catalogues, the coins, which are of gold, silver, and bronze, and he makes a valuable addition to the rapidly growing literature of Indian numismatics.

I must now pass beyond the pages of our *Chronicle* to mention two very notable works on English coinage which have been published during the year by Fellows of our Society. One, *The Coinage of England*, by Sir Charles Oman, is compiled from two series of lectures delivered at Oxford in 1928. The book begins with a survey of numismatic conditions in Europe and Britain arising out of the fall of the western Roman Empire, and dates the commencement of the English—at first, of course, Anglo-Saxon—currency at about the year A.D. 600; from thence it brings us down through the ages to the end of the reign of Queen Victoria. The reader has the advantage of the fact that Sir Charles is a distinguished historian as well as a numismatist, and so the technical details are embodied in a pleasant

story which flows steadily through the book to its appointed end. Few technical books are so easy to read, or convey so much information to the beginner in so pleasant a form, and I think few are so well calculated to spread the love of our science. Almost it persuaded me to join the ranks of collectors of the English series.

In Dr. Brooke's book on the English coinage, the numismatist outweighs the historian. Aiming, as he does, at something like a corpus of the coinage of this realm, he is compelled by considerations of space to abbreviate his historical matter. He has not, however, yielded so much to that compulsion as to make his book unduly dry or hard to read. It is a very excellent publication of high technical value, more fit perhaps for the serious student and collector than the pleasant work last discussed. The illustrations are very numerous, well chosen, and well produced.

The Fellows may remember the interesting suggestion made some time since by Dr. Hill that the coins of Carausius which bear the mint-mark BRI may have been struck at Vriconium (Wroxeter), the letter form B being used as V, as sometimes on Roman coins, and that it was objected by some of the disputants that that peculiarity was not found in any mint nearer than that of Antioch. As one of those disputants, I am interested to see that Dr. Brooke notes cases much in point on Anglo-Saxon coinage, viz. the use of Aelbred for Aelfred, Dorobrebria for Dorovernia, and Cibitas for Civitas. I owe that admission to my opponents, but I fear that the controversy over BRI is not thereby ended!

Dr. Brooke's suggestion that the well-known but scarce coin of Edward the Elder, which he describes as the minster type, is a representation of the new cathedral of Winchester is attractive.

The two authors have had good matter with which to deal. The Anglo-Saxon coins often show a pleasing dignity and artistic sense: we must regret that the moneymen had so little capacity as draughtsmen. As the time of the Norman Conquest draws on the draughtsmanship improves, but, I think, at the expense of the dignity. The Normans

made more frequent, and more successful, attempts at portraiture, but there was little advance in art.

But this is not the place to follow our numismatic history in detail. Suffice it to say that it has been worthily treated by both our authors, and that many years will pass before a new work on the subject will be required, though there are a few instances of disagreement between them which will require discussion, and there must be many new discoveries yet to be made by the future student who has still a field for much useful work.

I have already taken your attention too long, and I think that there has been little numismatic publication on the continent with which I need trouble you. I should, however, like to mention a paper by Herr Eduard Lacom of Vienna, of which he was kind enough to send me a copy. It purports to explain many of the obscurities which trouble those of us who study the third and fourth centuries, but the explanations are in great measure based upon an assumption with which I cannot agree. The writer thinks that the debasement of the Roman coinage in the time of Gallienus was due to such a sudden and immense appreciation in the value of silver that the debased coinage, containing from 2 to 5 per cent. of that metal, actually represented the same real value as had the earlier white metal coins (which contained some 25 per cent. thereof) at the time of their issue. So astounding a change should have been recorded by some historian, but I know of no such record, and I think that the debased money *must* be considered as an inflation coinage. It was struck in immense quantities; a measure quite unnecessary if there had been no fall in value, and, in that case also, then, on the other hand, the reform of Aurelian was totally unnecessary. I cannot doubt that the debasement was the desperate expedient adopted by the government of an empire which was almost crumbling into ruin.

One other numismatic event of the year may well be recorded to-night. I refer to the formation of The Numismatic Society of New Zealand. Your Council have exchanged

most friendly greetings with our new sister, and I am sure that if any of our Fellows can help her, by contributing books to her library or otherwise, they will gladly do so.

I have once more to offer my most cordial thanks to the officers of the Society for their constant and most able assistance and to the Fellows for their uniform kindness and support.

I commend to your notice the greatly improved condition of our library.

Mr. Henry Garside proposed and Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon seconded a vote of thanks to the President for his Address.

The President then announced the result of the ballot for office-bearers for 1932-3 as follows:

President.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents.

LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., M.A., D.C.L.,
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JOHN ALLAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

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Librarian.

FREDERICK A. HARRISON, Esq., F.Z.S.

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LADY EVANS, M.A. (Oxon.).

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E. S. G. ROBINSON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

H. W. TAFFS, Esq., M.B.E.

H. NELSON WRIGHT, Esq.

After proposing a vote of thanks to the Auditors and Scrutineers, the President adjourned the meetings of the Society till October 20.